

The weekly Account.

Numb. 22.

February. 1.

MUSEVM
BRITANNICVM
NICVMK. P. London
Containing these Particulars;

1. The uncertain report of the adjournment of the Anti-Parliament at Oxford.
2. The Queen at Brittain and preparing (as it is reported) for Ireland.
3. The Prince at Oxford, and preparing (as it is reported) for Wales.
4. The unnaturall cruelty in England, of the naturall Irish.
5. An exact and true Relation of the advancement of Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Fairfax Forces, for the relief of Nampwich.
6. Sir John Motham and his Son suddenly to be tried, by a Councell of Warre.
7. The successe of the Swedes in Denmark.
8. The surprizing of some English-Irish by Colonel Hutchinson.
9. Part of Arundell Castle burnt (accidentally) by Fire.
10. The States Embassadors of Holland, going to Oxford to deliver their Embassie to His Majesty.
11. Gloucester straightned, but not surrendered: as falsely the Malignants doe report.
12. More designs of the Enemy still discovered.
13. Two of the Enemies Spies taken at Uxbridge: and a Spye of Sir Samuel Lukes taken, and hanged at Oxford.
14. A true Relation of the numbers, and the manner of the Scots coming into England.
15. Their Proceedings at Anwicke, and since, and who are to be admitted into mercy, and who are those to be excluded from it.
16. The Archbishops witnesses examined, and himself to be suddenly brought unto his triall.
17. Sir John Gadderidge escaped from the Tower, and since taken at Brainford, and conveyed to Windsor Castle.
18. A certain Relation of a Message sent from Oxford to the Parliament, for Accommodation of Peace.
19. The Earle of Manchester his returning to his associated Counties, and his Commission for Reformation of the scandalous Clergy.
20. The designs at Oxford, shewing how they intend to fall again upon Suffex and Kent.
21. The Petition of the City of London, for the reforming or removing of some Commanders in his Excellencies Army.

With many other remarkable Passages.

LONDON,

Printed by Bernard Alsop, And published according to Order.

1644.

The Western

THE WEEKLY ACCOMPT
OF
Certain Special and Remarkable PASSAGES
From both Houses of PARLIAMENT, and
other Parts of the Kingdome.

From VVednesday the 24. of January, to the first of February, 1644.

VVednesday the 24. of January.

TO write of Kings is a task of as much difficulty as danger, to obey a King is to confirme and erect a Monarchy, to number Kings is to overthrow it. And as the Convention of able and faithfull Counsellours is the establishment of the Crowne, so again it is the obligation of the Crowne to imbrace such Counsells, and to command an obedience to them. Who-soever shall murmure themselves into counsells, to derogate from the honour and the safety of their Sovereigne, they forfeit their allegiance in the highest degree, and are indeed only guilty of the ruin and destruction of his Kingdoms.

The Anti-Parliament at Oxford was no sooner assembled then adjourned, you may remember I told you the last week that many of the Assembly would be absent that were expected, & indeed (they say) there was but a very thin appearance, besides many of their mines took no fire on that side as was expected. Howbeit, we are informed, that they are to assemble again about some month hence, at which time as they shall have longer dayes, so they promise to themselves fair proceedings. It is reported that no Papist is to come within ten miles of the Court, and (to save the opinion of the people and their own honours) that they intend to ordain some good lawes. It would doe well, if they would begin where they last left off, which was on the bringing of Delinquents to deserved punishments, that so the course of Justice might bee uninterrupted and open, whereby (to use his owne expression in the second page of the first week of this months intelligence) the passage might be stopped even of *Adversaries* himselfe.

Our land of late was covered over with white, as if the mercy of the skyes in that purity of Array would have expiated our crying sins of blood, but the fullen weight of our impentence is still pulling downe more judgements on us, for we understand that some eight hundred naturall Irish under the Command of the Lord *Inchequin* are lately landed in Dorsetshire, where they leave no unnaturall outrage nor cruelty uncommitted, the friends of the Parliaments and some members of the Parliament themselves, are taken all with them for hereticks, and because they cannot meet with their persons, they have burned one of their houses. We are informed likewise, that five hundred more of them are dayly expected to land in the same place where they came first on shore, which is at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, with an intent to exercise the like bloody cruelty, as they lately did in Ireland, but we hope they may be prevented.

Out of Lancaster it is informed that Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* met with the chieft of the Lancashire Gentry at Manchester, where they celebrated a Fast, and on the next day mustered the forces from Leyke, Ashburne, and Ulcester, to the number of eight thousand horse and foot, from whence they marched to releive the town of Nampwich which was besieged by the Lord *Biron* with about seven thousand horse and foot, some report not above five thousand, whereupon we are informed that the Lord *Biron* is retreated to a farther distance, of some three or foure miles from the towne, and that as he was retreating, the souldiers of the towne did issue out upon his Rere, and took two peeces of Ordnance and some carriage, but what good service Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* have since performed, who undoubtedly are marched towards Nampwich, wee have not yet any certaine letters of credence to confirme it.

The Commons have sent a Message to the Lord Generall, desiring him that without any further delay a Commission might be granted for the trial of Sir *John Hotham* and Captain *Hotham* his sonne, to which his Excellency returned answer, that there is a Commission in readinesse for a Councell of Warre, which with all possible conveniency shall meet upon his triall.

From Hamburg we have intelligence that the Swedes very successfully proceed in their Conquests in Denmark, and that they have over-run the most part of Jet-land, which is an Iland contiguous to it, as also that they have taken three of the King of Denmarks ships at Lubeck a free town, not far from Hamburg. It is said also that the Emperour followes the Swedes, and that the King of Denmark begetteth to raise forces to stop their proceedings. This day we its understood that the Garrison of Nottingham Castle had given a defeat to some forces that came to plunder the town of Nottingham, from Newark, Bel-fover, Welbeck and Shelford, under the command of Sir *Charles Lucas* where-
(upon

(upon the approach of the enemy) the townsmen having fled into the castle for protection, after they had gathered much plunder and were carrying it away, they sallied out from the Castle on them, killed betwixt thirty and forty of the enemy, took about four score prisoners, and recovered their plunder again, since which exploit it is rumored, that the said Governour of Nottingham Castle hath surprised a party of the enemy lately come from Ireland, for which good service as for the former, there is an order agreed upon for 1000 pound out of the sequestration mony to be forthwith sent to the Governour of the said castle, as a remembrance of his uncorrupted affection to the Parliament (for you may remember how not long since the Marques of Newcastle made him many golden promises to betray his trust) and for his good service to the State.

The forces of Sir *William Waller* have been visited with sickness, but surely not so much as the Malignants dayly doe report, they are removed from Arundell to other quarters. Since which time we understand, that part of Arundell Castle hath casually been fired with Gunpowder, and that some bales of linnen cloth which were convoyed thither out of the Dunkerke Ship, are also consumed and burned, but no other great hurt done there as wee understand. Since which Sir *William Waller* is himselfe come to London upon some speciall affaires of his Army, the Commons have had a debate concerning the drawing up of an Ordinance whereby to give him power to raise monies for a constant pay for his Army, and for a further supply of men and Armes as there shall be occasion in the Western Countie.

The Newes from Ireland is not so good as it is desired, it is reported that the Scots in the Province of Ulster have received some losse, and are straitned for the want of some necessities, the Merchant adventurers for Ireland have been a long time in agitation for some releife to be sent unto them, but I pray God it arrives not now too late.

Friday.

The Prince *De Harcourt* the Embassadour extraordinary from France, is returned to London from Oxford, and the messenger of the Embassadours of the States of Holland, is also returned with a safe conduct from the King for them to goe to Oxford, and it is reported that this week they intend for Oxford, where they will deliver their Ambasse to the King, and after to the Parliament.

We understand that the Garrison of Gloucester is something straitned, but cannot conceive it to be in that great distresse as the malignants doe report, Colonell *Massey* indeed hath a great burden on him, for he is forced to overlook and doe all himselfe, the Parliament having no Committees there to ease him. We understand that the King hath a strong party at Easom, Upton-bridges, Newnham and other place, we doubt not but the releife thereof will suddenly be attempted, and for the Ammunition many weeks since designed to the Parliament for the releife thereof, we are assured this week by letters that the

Garrisons of Northampton, Warwick, Coventry and Leicester have made up a very considerable Convey to guard the same (if the wayes were passable) unto Gloucester.

There were two spyes taken at Uxbridge comming from Oxford, whereof one was a servant to the Earle of Antrim, the other is said to be a Priest, who were both brought unto the Parliament, having many letters of consequence round about them; the Letters were referred to a private Committee to take a view of, and the Spyas were committed to safe custody. There was one *Francis Cole* who was taken the last week in Oxford for a Spye, and was condemned and executed for it accordingly.

The Designs and late Plots in Oxford to work on some of the Commanders to betray someforts committed to their charge, have proved very unsuccessfull to the contrivers, and being altogether unlawful and foule in their conception, have proved abortive in their births. Such was their design with Lieutenant Colonel *Mosely* to betray the Garrison at Alisbury in Buckinghamshire, who seemingly complied with them, and the said Lieutenant Colonel received for so good a service, a hundred pound in hand, to be made up a thousand pound if the Plot took effect; but the designe being discovered by Colonel *Mosely* to Colonel *Aldridge* Governour in cheife of the said Garrison, they were prevented of their expectation, and having private notice by some malignants that the Plot was discovered, the enemy who was near at hand with five thousand horse and foot finding their project was detected, retreated presently back to Oxford, miserably pillaging the Countries in their way. This designe of the Enemy was knowne in London and spoken of by many of his Excellencies souldiers on Tuesday night last, and (which I much wonder at) it was not brought unto the Parliament House until the Friday following, howsoever it was ordered by both Houses that thanks should be given to Lieutenant Colonel *Mosely*, as a considerable reward for his faithfulness to the Parliament. There is also reported to be another designe for the betraying of Windsor Castle, and a spirit of dissension by these grand Conjurers was promised to be raised amongst the Assembly of Divines, driving them into opposite tenents, and engaging some of them to stand for independancy, and to side with the Brownists and Anabaptists, whiles the others laboured to advance the Presbiteriall Government, but this was also found out to be one of the Earle of Bristol's spels, and thanks was given to Mr. *Nye* and Mr. *Goodwin* for their discovery of it.

Saturday.

There was a conference of both Houses for the better defence of the Isle of Wight, and that speedy supplies should be sent to the said Isle for the defence of it both by land and sea, and that a Garrison should be placed in Hurst-castle. It was also ordered that the Commissary for the Navy doe forthwith make provision of victuall and other necessaries for four thousand men up bee sent out with the Navy in this next Summer.

There

There is a Committee appointed to meet every day, to examine the Witnesses to make good the charge against the Archbishop of Canterbury, so that his tryall although deferred, is not neglected, and no doubt but he will finally be brought before the House again. There were also 30. ill-affected persons to be removed, who attended on His Majesties children at St. James house, some whereof are said to be notorious Papists, some prelati- cally Divines, the rest wanton and licentious persons, and most unfit to be in the place where such royall plants receive their education.

Monday.

We have reserved our best news unto the last, and that is to inform you (after so many uncertainties) of the certainty of the Scots advance into England, and that they have set forth a Declaration, concerning the justice of their proceedings in relieving their brethren of England (like to be oppressed by the blood-thirsty Papists) that their intentions are not to bring oyle but water to extinguish the devouring flames that threaten to bring this Kingdome into ashes; that their taking up of armes is not to make war, but to procure a more grounded and a durable peace; that Delinquents might be brought unto condigne punishment, and a right understanding be established betwixt His Majesty and his people; that their brethren of England might joyn with them in unity of one Religion and form of Government, loyall to their King, and faithfull to their Country. Which being obtained, they promise to be ready to return to their native homes, esteeming it their greatest happinesse, if (by their means) that Superstition may be chased out of this Kingdome, and that Truth and Peace may kisse together.

They are said to be eighteen thousand strong in foot, about four thousand in horse, and about five hundred Dragoons; there are other reports that differ from this number: They were for certain at a place called Addeston, some seven miles from Barwick, on this day seven night, and understanding that Sir *Thomas Glenham* (Generall for his Majesty of those four associated Counties) kept a Garrison consisting of about two thousand five hundred horse and foot, they sent a Trumpet to him, to require him to lay down his Arms, and to deliver up the same into their hands, for the use of the Parliament of England. The Letter was delivered to Colonel *Glenham*, and by him read to the Gentlemen then present with him, after which it was debated; First, whether they should oppose the Scots, and dispute their passage with their swords? To this it was answered, that they were not of strength sufficient. Secondly, whether they should set the Country on fire, and burn all the hay, grain, and other necessaries? To this the Yorkshire Gentlemen consented, as fitting to be done; but the Northumbrians and those who border near upon Scotland, did strongly protest against it. The third proposition was, whether they should retreat and abandon the Country, and that Town, to secure Newcastle? To this (they say) a generall consent was given. And it is believed, that Sir *Thomas*

Glen-

Gleatham, with the unconsiderable Forces that he had, is retreated towards Newcastle, and that the Scots are marching after; But that Newcastle should be taken without a blow, I cannot easily apprehend. I am the worst in the world to induce other men to believe that, which in reason, I cannot believe my self. It is reported (and indeed tis very probable) that the Scots train of Artillery, was brought by Sea into the Holy Islands, which is said to be some twenty six miles from Newcastle, and surely in this extreame depth of snow which lyes on the Cheviot Hills not far from thence, sometimes at Summer long, I cannot readily apprehend how their Artillery can move, unlesse very slowly, but as much as men can do, there is no question but the Scots will perform for our assistance.

Tuesday.

The noble Earl of Manchester was expected this day to return to his associated Counties, the Spring now comming on, and many of those places by reason of the rudenesse of the soldiers, having need of his presence: Besides the Ordinance granted him for supplies of men and monies, to be raised in those Counties to recruit his Army. He hath also full Commission to annadvert against all the malignant heads of houses in Cambridge, and all scandalous Ministers in those Counties, who in their Sermons inveigh against the Parliament. By reason of some extraordinary affaires, his journey into those parts is deferred.

The Scots have also put forth a Declaration, shewing who are to be received into mercy, and who are to be excluded; wherein there is no mercy to be shewn to any Papists that have actually borne arms in this unnaturall War, who are to be esteemed as the Irish Rebels, nor unto any whosoever that have been incendiaries in this War, or fomenters of it: All those who refuse to take the Covenant, are to have their estates sequestred. And lastly, all Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, and others whosoever, shall be received into favour, if by the first of March next ensuing they submit to the obedience of the Parliament.

Prince *Rupert* we hear is created Duke of Suffex, the Prince is going to raise Forces in Wales, the Queen in Ireland; the Lord *Corington* is made Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and high Treasurer of England.

The City of London, have petitioned for the better ordering or removing of some Commanders in his Excellencies Army, which Petition is taken into consideration. Sir *John Gudderidge* escaped from the Tower, and was taken on Tuesday morning at Brainford, and conveyed to Windsor, from whence he will not easily finde means for his deliverance. It is a question whether the Anti-Parliament at Oxford be adjourned or no, for there came on Tuesday in the afternoon a Message either from his Majesty or from them (concerning some accommodations of Peace) the comming in of the Scots have (it seems) much startled them at Oxford, but what answer the Parliament will return, will suddenly be known. The Lord *Hopton* is retired Westwards (but like a Ram) to return with greater force: For it is believed, that all the designs of His Majesties Army are again for Suffex and Kenr.

FINIS.

A Message from Oxford, subscribed by the
Prince of Wales and Duke of York.

Numb. 36

A Letter from the Scots, and Sir Thomas Glenham's answer,
Sir John Gutteridge escaped and retaken.



MERCURIUS CIVICUS.

LONDON.

INTELLIGENCER!

OR,
Truth impartially related from
thence to the whole Kingdome,
to prevent mis-information.

From Thursday January 25. to Thursday February 1. 1643.



I have heard of the meeting of an Anti-Parliament
at Oxford, which indeed may justly be termed the
pretended Parliament, the assembling thereof being
absolutely repugnant to an Act concluded on this
present Parliament with his Majesties assent. This
convocation of Apostate and delinquent Lords and
Commons (for thus is the most suitable Epithet for them) met to-
gether

Nn

gether on Monday the 22. of this instant January, at which time his Majesty made a speech unto them, wherein he declares the occasion of their assembling to be by reason of the intention of a forraign power (for so his Majesty termes the Scots, but not the Irish Rebels) to invade this Kingdom, and therefore he desires their assistance and advice what is to be done in a matter of so high concernment, and concludes with many specious pretences of his desires to maintaine Religion (what Religion is not manifested) their Laws and Liberties. This Speech procured not that effect as was desired, for severall debates were made, whether the popish Lords should sit in that convention or no. To which answer was made, They were at this time his Majesties ~~but~~ subjects. Then question was made, Whether such persons as were formerly impeached of Treason this present Parliament, as the Earle of Derby, the Lord Digby, Secretary Windbank, and others, should be admitted to their consultation, but none of these were carried, but the meeting seemed to be divided about them. Notwithstanding, that they might in some measure declare their pretended affection to his Majesty, many of them concluded of a Message to be sent to the Earle of Essex; accordingly a Trumpeter was dispatched from thence with a Message, who coming as farre as Kensington, was conducted by a troope of horse hoodwink't through the Works, and so to Westminster Hall on Tuesday January 23. in the afternoon, where his Message (being in Parliament) was delivered to Sir Philip Stapleton, who presented it to the Lord Generall, his Excellency acquainted the Parliament therewith, who thereupon appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to consider of it. The Message was subscribed by the Prince of Wales and Duke of Yorke, and severall of the pretended Lords and Commons at Oxford, the effect of it was (as I am informed) That whereas a forraigne Army had already invaded the Kingdom, that therefore for the prevention of that ruine and desolation which might be occasioned thereby, some speedy wayes and meanes might be put in execution for the procuring of an Accommodation.

This being accordingly considered of it was resolved that a Declaration sent from the Convention of Estates of the Kingdoms of Scotland, and agreed upon by the House of Commons the day before, and by the Lords the same afternoon, together with a Copy of the soleme League and Covenant entered into by both Kingdomes,

domes, should be sent unto *Oxford* as an answer unto it, the more evidently to manifest the faithfull, mutuall, and unanimous resolutions of both Kingdomes to live and die in the defence of their Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, and his Majesties just Rights and Prerogative. Which resolution of theirs, how welcomely it was entertained by the *Oxford* Convention, a short juncture time of them will discover.

This Declaration of both Kingdomes is of as great consequence and concernment, as any which hath been concluded of since the beginning of this present Parliament; the effect of it I shall not mention, it being this morning to be published in print.

For the Regiment of trained Bands and Auxiliaries which went last from the City, we are advertised by Letters, dated Munday Jan. 29. from divers persons of credit amongst them, That they were then safe at *Perworth* in *Sussex*, that on Sunday night last there was a sudden Alarm beat up; that *Hopston* forces were approaching neere unto them, but it proved otherwise; and it is conceived they will not dare to advance that way. The last journey they took (when Sir *William Waller* lay before *Arundell* Castle) being in so small purpose, unless out of another transfer (in the absence of Sir *William*) they make another vapour, and no sooner appear then vanishing, for should they adventure to hazard a battell, it is not doubted but that valiant Commander, Sergeant Major-General *Bromes* will be ready to give them entertainment.

On Monday last January 29. a Petition was presented unto both Houses of Parliament from the Committee for the Militia of the City of *London*, wherein (insinuating the valour and undaunted resolution of the Noble General of the Parliaments Forces, his Excellency the Earle of *Essex*) they petitioned the Parliament that they would take some speedy course for the recruitall and reforming of his Army, unto which the Houses then returned answer, That they would speedily take it into consideration, giving them thanks for their great care of the publike safety.

There was this weeke one Sir *John Gutteridge* (who on Friday night last escaped out of the Tower) taken at *Vickham* by the L. Generals forces in his way to *Oxford*, as he was riding in the habit of a Butcher behinde another man, they found about fourscore pieces of gold in his pocket, and have now brought him backe to *London*.

Concerning the advance of the Scotch Army, and their coming into England, according to the generall expectation, there have been formerly severall uncertaine Relations published; but the Parliament were certainly advertised by an Expreſſe which came unto them on Munday laſt from the Scotch Army, that upon Friday the 19. inſtant, there marched over from Berwicke three regiments of foot, together with thirteene troops of horſe towards the enemy, the Committees of both Kingdomes ſent a Trampeter to Sir Thomas Glenham, Colonel Gray, and the reſt of the Officers and Gentlemen of Northumberland; the effect of their Meſſage was as followeth, viz. That although they preſumed that the ſolemn mutuall Covenant entered into by both Kingdomes had long ſince come to their hands, and likewiſe that they had notice of the raiſing of the Army deſired by the Parliament of England, for the proſecution of thoſe ends therein expreſſed; namely, *The preſervation and reformation of Religion, the true honour and happineſſe of the King, and the ſolid peace and liberty of his Dominions.* Yet that it might appeare both to them and all the world how unwilling they were to make a forcible uſe of thoſe Armes which they had been constrained by the diſappointment of all other means of ſafety to take up. The ſaid Commiſſioners and Committees of both Kingdomes thought fit, by ſuch a Declaration (a Copy whereof they ſent with the ſaid Letter) largely emitted in the name of the Kingdom of Scotland for the ſatisfaction of the people, concerning the entrance of that their Army, to take more particular notice of the ſaid Gentlemen and Commanders, hoping likewiſe that things of ſo great and conſiderable conſequence would finde with them ſuch entertainment as might answer the weight and importance of them. Adding further, That if miſinformation, or any other unhappy grounds, ſhould ſo farre prevail with the ſaid Commanders, and the reſt, as to reckon them to the number of their enemies; and if inſtead of that concurrence with them which they wiſhed and hoped to deſerve, they found oppoſition and acts of Hoſtility, the Law of nature and their owne reaſon might tell them what they were to expect.

Subſcribed at Berwicke 20. Jan. by the warrant; and in the name of the Committees of both Kingdomes, by

Argyle
W. Armyne.

To which Letter Sir Thomas Glenham returned this dilatory

Answer.

My Lord, I have received by your Trumpeter a Letter from your Lordship and Sir William Armyne, it is long and of great concernment, and the other directed to Colonell Gray, who for the reason before mentioned; and for that here are none but Officers, we cannot returne you an Answer so suddenly by your Trumpeter; but I will send presently to the Gentlemen of the County to come hither, and thereupon you shall receive my answer, with the officers and theirs by themselves, by a Trumpeter of my owne. So I rest

Anwick 20. Jan. 1644.

Your servant

Thomas Glenham

Upon the 21. Jan. the Gentlemen of Northumberland met together at Anwick, where Sir Thomas Glenham propounded to them three questions.

1. *What should be done with those places of the County which were not yet in the possession of the Scots, and which they were not able to protect?*

2. *What answer should be given to the Letter of the two Countesses?*

3. *Whether they should fight with the Scots at Anwick?*

To the first: The *Yorkshire* officers thought it most fit that the County should be burned, wasted and destroyed; but the *Northumberland* Officers and Gentlemen opposed that resolution, saying that they had hazarded their lives and fortunes as well as others, and they would take that for a small recompence of their labours, to have their Countrey wasted and spoiled.

To the second: Some thought it fittest to give a due answer to so faire a Letter; others that it could not be answered by them; but must be sent to the E. of *Newcastle*; and a third sort were of opinion that it must be sent to His Majesty before any answer could be returned.

In the third: They were all unanimous declining by all means to fight, yet with resolution to come off with credit; and with their 16 Troopes of horse and a Regiment of foot they have at Anwick, with about 8 Drakes, and 20 pieces of Ordnance to defend the bridge.

bridge; though it is well known, the Towne may be invaded at any other place.

This is all the certaine intelligence which as yet we have of the Scots proceedings, for any further intelligence I doubt not but before the next you will have a more particular relation.

By Letters from *Dorchester* it is advertised, that some of the Lord *Inchequins* forces which came lately out of *Ireland* came into that Towne, where (according to their accustomed manner) they began to pillage and plunder; but there being an Alarm given, that the garrison of *Poole* were coming towards them, they left their plunder and ran away like Irish foot-men, scarce adventuring once to looke behind them.

On Munday last the little Archbishop of *Canterbury* was brought from the Tower to *Westminster* before the Committee for examinations, to be examined of severall particulars in *Mr. Smarts* business.

There hath been lately a Proclamation printed at *Oxford* in His Majesties name, whereby He declares, that He hath caused a new great Seale to be made and engraven in Silver for the use and business of the Court of Wards and Liveries, upon the reverse of which new Seale, betweene the Supporters and the scrowle His Majesty hath caused 3 Feathers with a Princes Coronet, (the badges of the Principality of *Wales*) to be placed for the better differenting the same from the old Seale. We may easily see by this which way affaires are steered at *Oxford*, when such apparent and declared enemies to the State shall be preferred to the places of the greatest trust and consequence.

Aulicus is of late much false away, and notwithstanding the Anticks Parliament of Apostate Lords, Delinquent Commons, and corrupt Judges at *Oxford*, which, one would think, should recreate or revive his drooping spirits, he is now stunkel in one poore single sheet of Paper, and it is verily believed, that having worn out that as thred bare and thin as the other, he will shortly desert his profession, and if he lie hereafter, it shall be without sheets.

He tells us in the third weeke of the new yere ending Janu^y. 20. of the House of Lords discontinuing the use of the Common prayer books, of the taking downe the Organs in *Pauls*, and of the defacing *Henry* the seventh's Chappell by taking downe the Images there.

Aulicus I must tell you, *Wolfe* out of such a stormy and windy Religion in *London* as you are at *Oxford*, your devotion never begins to be elevated till they be blown up with O god pipes, and well tumbled with Antheims. And for the calling down the Images, we know you are sorry at *Oxford* that *Idolatry* goes to sit down at *Windsor* for: indeed we have squarrells at you I'm got, whether they be at *Pauls* or *St. Dunstons*, and we intend to leave you not so much as the finger of *St. Francis* the Town of *St. Thomas*, the Slipper, the Milke, or the Haire of the Virgin *Mary* to play to. And this reformation shall be accomplished notionally in *London* but shortly in *Oxford* too. Oh what a gallant fight it would be to see the *Wolfe* fire made of your popish Trinkets at *Oxford*, as there was in *Chesham* about a fortnight since.

He tells us of the prayer of one *Wied* a *Levite* (as he termes him) at *Newton* in *Lancashire*, and he repeates part of it. *Aulicus*, though you have few *Levites* at *Oxford*, yet you have popish *Prelates*, *Abby*-*lobbers*, *Pricks*, *Jesuits*, *Seminaries*, and *Hispaniolized* *Papists* too, as well as *Franciscans*, &c. *Aulicus*, wilt thou never leave prophaneing, hast thou not roome enough to jeere from *Oxford* to *London*, but thou must goe into *Pulpits* in *Lancashire*? Sure they think at *Oxford* that *Prayer* jests, and *Sermon* jests are more saying conceits then any morall or civill fancies. Reader, thus they goe to Heaven at *Oxford*, very merrily, you see, laughing and quibbling at *Texts*, and *Prayers*, and *Sermons*, and *Ministers*, playing with *Divinity*, and making mucke with very *Pulpits*.

He termes the *Parliament* and their adherents *Rebels*, according to his usuall manner. Believe it, this title from *Oxford* is very honorable; our good brethren of *Scotland* have had it before us, and are now come to it againe. But *Aulicus*, who are the greater *Rebels*; those that resist *King Charles* or the *King of England*, those that oppose his Person all, or his *Parliamentary* power? methinks you should distinguish at *Oxford*, I thought you had been *Schollers* there; you had best learne quickly, I'de advise you, the *Scots* will else shortly teach you what colour is most in fashion, and make you turne your *Scarlet* and bloody dye into a *Blew*.

He tells us of one *Mr. Ralph Snyde* having lately fetcht from *Newcastle under line* in *Staffordshire* the *Major* of the *Towne*, with *Sir W.*

Brerestons

Reverend Notes and Letters in his pocket. *Aulicus*, said nothing of your Notes and Letters and of the Major of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, shall hardly be brought to exchange with you for his *Nicholas Birney* (your bloody L. *Birons* uncle) Major *Wills*, and above an 100 Officers, besides neere thrice so many common souldiers, besides Powder, Match, and Bullets, then taken; and we hope that *Newcastle upon Tyne* is by this time taken by the Scots; and your male-bellied *Glenham*, with the malignant Major and Aldermen: Reader, you may see *Aulicus* is put to his shifts for victories, when to fill up one sheet of Paper, he keeps such a vapouring at the taking of a Country Major and a few Notes and Papers.

He tells us of Covenants, Oaths, and Sub-covenants. *Aulicus* thinks your Covenants at *Oxford* be but few, yet your Oaths are many; indeed you owe Oath us (we acknowledge) though we owe Covenant you.

On Wednesday January 29. the House of Commons according to their accustomed manner kept the solemn day of Humiliation at *Margarets Church* in *Westminster*. There preached before them in the forenoon Mr. *Cowdy* one of the reverend Assembly of Divines, upon *Proverbs* 29. 8. And in the afternoons Mr. *Reithford* one of the Commissioners of the generall Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, his Text was in *Daniel* chap. 6. vers. 26.

After the conclusion of the second Sermon, according to an Order agreed upon by the Commons the day before, the house of Commons met in their house, where such of their members then in Town who had not formerly taken the solemn League and Covenant, subscribed unto it. There have now above eleven score of the said house taken it, besides such faithfull members which are employed in severall Countieys about the affaires of the Common-wealth. So that it is hoped that the designe of the Enemy to divide them, will be a means to make them unite themselves the more firmly together.

Printed according to Order.

London, Printed for Thomas Bates, and J. W. J. 1643.

THE
DECLARATION³
OF THE
KINGDOMES
OF

England and Scotland,

loyned in Armes for the vindication
and defence of their Religion, Liberties, and
Lawes, against the Popish, Prelaticall, and
Malignant party;

Parliament
By the Honourable Houses of the
Parliament of *England*, and the Honourable
Convention of Estates of the Kingdome
of *Scotland*, in the yeere 1643.

Die Martis 30 Ianuar. 1643.

Ordered by the Lords assembled in Parliament, that the
Declaration of the Kingdomes of England and Scotland
shall be forthwith printed by the Printer belonging to the House
of Peeres; and that no man shall presume to print the said De-
claration after the said Printer, as he will answer the contrary at
his perill.

J. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Wright* in the Old-baily,

Februa. 1. 1643.

RECEIVED

KING



10



THE
DECLARATION
OF THE
KINGDOMES
OF
ENGLAND and SCOTLAND,

Joyned in Armes for the Vindication and defence of their Religion, Liberties, and Lawes, against the Popish, Prelaticall, and Malignant party,

By the Honourable Houses of the Parliament of *England*, and the Honourable Convention of Estates of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, in the yeere 1643.

If either Christian duty, which by reason of the light of the Gospell so clearly shinning amongst us, might have been expected from the professors of Religion; Or if naturall affection which even in the heathen and Infidels

Infidels ignorant of Christ, hath abounded
 toward their native Countrey, or sincere re-
 spect to his Majesties Honour and hap-
 pinesse, could have been found in the waies
 or hearts of our common enemies, the ene-
 mies of Truth and Peace: If they had either
 feared God or regarded men, or yielded to
 our Importunities, We had not after so ma-
 ny Petitions, Declarations and Remon-
 strances as have filled all mens eares and
 hands, been put to this necessity of a new
 Declaration (which therefore must be more
 pathetick and pressing then any of the for-
 mer:) Nor after so many troubles and suffer-
 ings of the Kingdome of Scotland, after
 the desolation of the Kingdome of Ireland,
 and after so much blood, and so many unna-
 turall Tragedies in the Kingdome of Eng-
 land, had We been redacted to this present con-
 dition and joynt posture of Armes; the Lord
 whose counsels are a great depth, and who
 is righteous in all his waies, and holy in
 all his workes, hath just cause of controver-
 sie against us and this whole Island. But
 who would have beleebed that our Religion,
 Liberties, and Lawes which for so long a
 time

time have endured opposition and Assaults of forraigne power, enbying our happinesse, would have been opposed, oppressed and trod under foot by the craft and cruelty of our owne Natibes and Countrey men:

In this our extremity, first of all We Declare, that We place not our confidence in our owne counsels and strength, but our confidence is in God Almighty the Lord of Hosts, Who will not leabe nor forsake his people; It is his owne Truth and Cause Which we maintaine With all the Reformed Churches, and Which hath been witnessed and sealed by the testimonny, sufferings, and blood of so many Confessours and Martyrs against the Heresie, Superstition, and Tyranny of Antichrist: the glory of his owne Name, the exaltation of the Kingdome of his Sonne, and the preservation of his Church, and of this whole Island from utter ruine and devastation is our aime, and the end which we have before our eyes. His Covenant have We in both Nations solemnly Worn and subscribed, which he would not have put in our hearts to doe, if he had been minded to destroy us; The many prayers and supplications which
these

these many peeres past, but especially of late have been offered up with fasting and humiliation, and with strong crying and teares, unto him that is able to deliber and save us, are a seed which promise unto us a plentifull Harbest of comfort and happinesse; and the Apostacy, Atheisme, Idolatry, Blasphemies, Profanenesse, Cruelty, Excesse, & open mocking of all Godlinesse and Honesty, have filled the cup of our Adversaries to the brim, and threaten their speedy and fearefull destruction, unlesse it be prevented by such extraordinary repentance, as seemeth not yet to have entered into their hearts.

Upon these and the like grounds and considerations, being confident that this warre wherein both Nations now firmly united are so deeply engaged, is of God; We resolve with courage and constancy unto the end, to doe our part; and the Lord who hath stirred up our spirits, displayed his Banner before us, and given the Alarm, doe that which seemeth him good.

Secondly, although every man is to hope for the principall reward of his service from
God,

God, who rewards every one according to his works; yet we finde our selves bound in conscience and equity to Declare, that besides those who have the publique faith ingaged to them for their security, such as since the beginning have done valiantly, and dealt faithfully in this Cause, and such as have chosen rather to suffer the spoiling of their Goods, then to assist the Enemy, or to take Armes against their Religion and Countrey, and shall continue constant in the same course of doing or suffering unto the end, shall be according to their Merits taken into publique Notice and Consideration, their losses (so far as may be) repaired, and themselves honoured and rewarded by such meanes and waies, as we trust, God in his providence shall afford, and the Parliaments or Estates of the two Kingdomes respectively shall in their Wisdom, Justice and Thankfulnessse judge most convenient; so that no man who hath been eminent in action, or hath suffered any notable losse for the publique, shall be neglected or slighted, but one way or other shall be thankfully remembered, to his own honour and the good of his posterity.

Thirdly,

(8)
Thirdly, although Neutrality and indifference in the time of the danger of Religion be a thing detestable to God, Who willeth all Christians earnestly to contend for the Truth, and such as have been Neutralists or indifferent in the times of civill division and danger of the Common-Wealth, have been in all Nations severely punished as pernicious & publique enemies: yet that the consciences of all men may be the more convinced, & all pretexts removed, We give nowa Publique Warning to such persons to rest no longer upon their Neutrality, or to please themselves with the naughty and slothfull pretext of Indifferency, but that they addresse themselves speedily to take the Covenant, and joyne with all their power in the defence of this Cause against the common Enemy, and by their zeale and forwardnesse hereafter to make up what hath been wanting through their lukewarmnesse; this they will finde to be their greatest Wisdome and safety; otherwise We doe Declare them to be publique Enemies to the Religion and Country, and that they are to be censured and punished as professed Adversaries and Malignants,

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Because a great many of the multitude of the people, upon ignorant Mistakings, false Informations, and Threats, or Compulsions, against their Wills and inclination, have beene induced or constrained to joyne in Armes with the Enemies against their Religion and Native Country; Wee doe Declare, that all common Souldiers, who upon the humble acknowledgement of their former Errors, shall offer themselves willingly and speedily to take the Covenant, and shall joyne heartily and really in the defence of this Cause, as becommeth good Christians and lovers of their Country, shall be freely accepted into the Covenant, and their former Error passed by; otherwise let them expect the punishment of wilfull Delinquents and Malignants.

Fifthly, Because some of the Scottish Nation, upon their owne private respects, or upon specious pretences and faire perswasions, have joyned themselves in Armes with the Popish, Prelaticall, and Malignant party, against the Parliament and Kingdome of England, and not considering the nature of the

B

Cause

Cause in which they have beene engaged, nor the deepe interest of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, upon which this Warre was to turne in the end, have beene fighting against their owne Religion and native Kingdome; Wee doe therefore againe Warne all such, of whatsoever quality, and in whatsoever place, speedily to withdraw themselves from that Faction, to confesse their mistakes, and to joyne in the Covenant and Cause of God in both Kingdomes before the first day of March next, otherwise Wee Declare, in the behalfe of the Kingdome of England, that they are to expect no favour, but are to be used as desperate Malignants; And Wee Declare, in behalfe of the Kingdome of Scotland, if they either continue in Armes after the foresaid first day of March, or withhold their helpe and assistance from their Native Country, in the time of trouble and danger, they are to be censured and punished as publique Enemies to their Religion and Country, peridious transgressors of their Nationall Covenant, and their Estates disposed of for the use of the publique.

Sixthly, Because there are others Noblemen,

men, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, and others, who by forsaking or deserting the Parliament of England, and by joyning themselves to the Enemies of Religion, his Majesties happinesse and peace of the Kingdomes, have made the Division greater, and the Breaches wider betwixt the King and his Parliament, and thereby contrary to the duty of their places and callings, have beene the cause of the shedding of much innocent Blood, of great Losses, and of many Miseries and dangers, to the publique of both Kingdomes, and of the Sufferings of private men in their Estates, and Lives, and yet are not to be reckoned amongst the prime Authors of this unnaturall Warre, nor amongst the malicious and desperate Enemies of their Religion and Country: Wee doe Declare, That all such forsaking their former Opposition, returning to their duty, and indeavouring the good of Religion and the publique peace, shall, as to their lives and liberties of their persons, be secured, and shall be received into favour: But to the end, that a just difference may be made betwixt such persons returning so late to their duty, and

those that never departed from it, they must expect that toward the payment of the publique Debts, relieving the common Burdens of the Kingdomes, and repairing of particular Losses; All which in a great part have beene contracted and sustained by their default or procurement: Their Estates in some proportions should be lyable, and that as the Wisedome and discretion of the Parliament, or of such as shall be authorized by them, (who will be as carefull to prevent their ruine as to punish their Delinquencies) shall find it judge to be necessary for that end.

Wherein also, the time of their returning and offering themselves, the reality of their affections and intentions, and readinesse to joyne in the common Cause, and Covenant, will be taken into speciall consideration. And in case they persist in their Opposition, and shall not returne before the first day of March next, they are not to expect favour, but shall be punished as publique Enemies to their Religion and Country.

Seventhly, Because Papists and Popish Recusants, according to the principles of their
Pro-

Profession, have ever beene plotting and con-
 tributing the change of Religion in this Island,
 and the Ruine of all the Professors thereof:
 And after the Frustration of their Attempts,
 having waited upon such a time as this, have
 alienated the Heart of the Kings Majestie
 from his Protestant and Loyall Subjects,
 taken Armes against the Parliament & King-
 dom, and by all their meanes and power, have
 maintained a Bloody and unnaturall Warre,
 presuming in the end to have their execrable
 Superstition and Idolatry set up in the place
 of the true Reformed Religion, and the King
 and his Kingdomes to be brought under the
 Power and Tyranny of the Pope: We doe
 hereby Declare, That all such Papists and
 Popish Recusants, who have beene, now are,
 or shall be actually in Armes, under the false
 pretence of defending the Kings Person and
 Authority, are to looke for no favour, but to be
 punished as Traytors, and profess'd and in-
 tolerable Enemies of Religion and their Na-
 tive Country. The same Declaration We al-
 so make against all such Irish Rebels, whe-
 ther Papists or others, who have come over

from Ireland, and assisted in this Warre against the Parliament, and Kingdome of England.

And Lastly, Because there are some few Wicked & diabolish Spirits of both Kingdoms, who have kindled and fomented the Fire of Division and Warre betwixt the King and his Parliament, or have misgoverned his Majesties Counsellors and Courses to his owne dishonour, and to the destruction of his loving and dutifull Subjects, or have infused Malignancie in others, or have beene restlesse and active Instruments of the Troubles and Miseries of his Majesties Dominions.

We doe Declare, concerning those who are or shall be found by the Supream Iudicatories of the Kingdomes respectively, or their Committees appoynted for that effect, to be such, That as the Conscience of their owne bad Deservings hath made them to despaire of favour, and thereby uncessantly to worke more and more mischief against their Religion and Native Country, so are they to look for such Execution of Justice, as is due to Traytors and Enemies of Religion, of the King, and his

his Kingdomes, for Terror and Example to others, in all times to come.

And it is further now Declared, That the whole Estates, reall and personall, moveable, and Inheritance of those that shall not come in at the times before limited in the Sixth Article, and of the persons before excepted from pardon, (as of Papists in Armes, Irish Rebels, and those who shall be found to come within the compasse of the precedent Article) shall be forfeited and imployed for paying the Publique Debts, relieving the common Burdens of the Kingdomes, and repairing of particular Losses.

And this Declaration Wee make, not from any presumption or vaine-glorving in the strength of our Armies and Forces, but from the sense of that duty which is required, and expected from the high places and publique relations wherein we stand, and from the assurance Wee have of the assistance of God, by whose providence the trust and safety of these Kingdomes is put in our hands at this time, having after long and grave con-
sul-

sultation, resolved and decreed never to lay
 downe Armes till Truth and Peace by the
 blessing of God be settled in this Island upon a
 firme foundation for the present and future
 Generations, which shall be esteemed of Us an
 abundant reward of all that Wee can doe or
 suffer in this Cause.



FINIS.

4
MANIFESTE
Ou
DECLARATION

*England
Parliament*
des Royaumes
d'Angleterre & d'Escoffe,

Joincts en Armes pour la Vindica-
tion & deffense de la Religion, leur
Libertez & Loix, contre le parti
Papistique, Prelatique, & Malin;

Par les deux Maisons du Parlement
d'ANGLETERRE, & l'Assemblée des
Estats du Royaume d'Escoffe, en
L'Annee 1643.



A LONDRES,
Imprimé par Commandement, Fevrier. 1643.



MANIFESTE OU DECLARATION des ROYAUMES

d'Angleterre. & d'Ecosse.

Jointés en Armes pour la Vindication &
deffence de la Religion, leurs Libertez, & Loix,
contre le parti Papistique, Prelatique, & Malin;

Par les deux Maisons du Parlement d'*Angleterre*,
& l'Assemblée des Estats du Royaume d'*Ecosse*,
en l'Annee 1643.



SI Nous eussions peu attendre de Ceux qui font
profession de la Religion entre nous & avec nous,
le debvoir de Chrestiens, veu la lumiere de l'Evan-
gile qui luit si clairement parmi nous; Ou l'affec-
tion naturelle de Patriotes envers leur Pays
natal, laquelle a esté si grande mesme parmi les
Payens, Infideles, & gens ignorans des Christ; Ou si nous eus-
sions peu trouuer le respect sincere deu a l'honneur & Prosperité
du Roy, dans les voyes & cœurs de nos Adversaires, Ennemys
jurez de la Verité & Paix; Ou si ils eussent craint Dieu, ou eu
esgard aux hommes, ou cédé a nos importunitéz; Nous n'au-
rions pas esté contraincts maintenant, aprez tant de Requestes,
Declarations & Remonstrances qui ont battu les oreilles & rem-
pli les mains de tant d'hommes, de faire vne nouuelle Declara-
tion (laquelle pour ces causes il nous a falu faire plus Pathetique
& pressante qu'aucune des precedentes) ni reduits, aprez tant de
troubles

troubles & souffrances du Royaume d'*Ecosse*, apres la Desolation du Royaume d'*Irlande*, & apres tant de sang respandu; & tant de Tragedies desnaturees au Royaume d'*Angleterre*, a cette condition presente & posture conjointe des Armes; Le Seigneur de qui les Conseils sont vne grande profondeur, & qui est juste en toutes ses voyes, & saint en toutes les œuvres, a juste cause d'estre irrité contre nous & toute cette Isle. Mais qui auroit peu croire que nostre Religion, nos Libertez & Loix, lesquelles depuis si long temps ont demeuré fermes contre l'opposition & les assauts de la puissance Estrangere qui envioit nostre bon-heur, auroient esté opposees, opprimees, & soulees aux pieds par la ruzé & cruauté de ceux de nostre Pays mesme & Compatriotes?

En cette nostre extremité, nous declaronz auant toutes choses, que nous ne mettons pas nostre confiance en nos propres Conseils & Forces; Mais nostre confiance est en Dieu Tout puissant le Seigneur des Armees, qui ne delaissera ni n'abandonnera point son Peuple; C'est sa propre Verité & Cause que nous soutenons avec toutes les Eglises Reformees, & qui a esté confirmée & scélé par le tesmoignage, souffrances, & sang de tant de Confesseurs & Martyrs contre l'Herésie, la Superstition, & Tyrannie de l'Antechrist: La gloire de son propre Nom, l'exaltation du Regne de son fils, & la conservation de son Eglise, & de toute cette Isle, d'une entiere ruyne & devastacion, est nostre seul but & la fin que nous auons deuant noz yeux.

Nous auons solennellement juré & signé son Alliance, ce quil n'auroit point mis en nos cœurs de faire, s'il eut eu intention de nous destruire; Le grand nombre de prieres & supplications qui depuis plusieurs annees, mais specialement depuis, peu luy ont esté offertes avec jeune & humiliation, & avec grands cris & larmes, a luy qui est capable de nous deliurer & sauuer, sont vne semence qui nous promet vne Moisson abondante de confort & bon-heur; & l'Apostasie, Atheisme, Idolatrie, Blasphemes, Profanation, Cruauté, Excez, & mocquerie ouverte de toute Sainteté & Honnesteté, ont rempli la coupe de nos Adversaires jusques aux bords, & les menacent d'une prompte & espouventable destruction, si elle n'est preuenue par vne telle extraordinaire repentance, qui ne semble point estre encor entree en leurs cœurs.

Sur ces & semblables fondemens & considerations, estans

assurez que cette guerre en laquelle ces deux Nations, si fermement vnies a present, sont si avant engagees, est de Dieu ; Nous resolvons avec courage & constance, de faire nostre debuoir jusqu'à la fin ; & le Seigneur qui a esmeu nos esprits, a cette entreprisedesployé sa Banieredeuuant nous, & donné l'alarme, fasse ce qui semblera bon a ses yeux.

Secondement, encore que chasque homme doibue esperer de Dieu le principal guerdon de son service, qui recompense vn chacun selon ses ocuures, Toutesfois nous nous sentons obliger nous mesmes en conscience & equité de Declarer, qu'oultre ceux auxquels la foy publique est engagée pour leur seurté, Ceux aussi qui depuis le commencement se sont comporte vaillamment, & procedé fidelement en cette cause, & Ceux qui ont plustost choisi de souffrir le degast de leurs biens, que d'assister l'Ennemy, ou prendre les Armes contre la Religion & leur Pays, & continueront constamment jusqu'à la fin, au mesme train d'agir & souffrir, seront recognus suivant leurs Merites, & pris en consideration publique, leurs pertes (autant que faire se pourra) redressees, & Eux mesmes honorez & recompensez par tels moyens & voyes, que nous nous assurons que Dieu fournira par sa providence, & que les Parlemens ou Estatz des deux Royaumes respectivement, jugeront en Sagesse, Justice & equité estre le plus convenable ; En sorte qu'aucun homme qui a esté remarquable en action, ou a souffert aucune perte notable pour le publicq, ne sera negligé ou laissé en arriere, mais on aura souvenance de luy avec remerciement, a son propre honneur & bien, & de sa posterité.

Entroisieme lieu, eueore que la Neutralité & indifference, lors que la Religion est en danger, soit vne chose detestable deuant Dieu, qui veut que tous Chrestiens combattent serieusement pour la Verité, & que ceux qui ont esté Neutres ou indifferens en temps de division civile & danger du Public, ayent esté en toutes Nations severement punis comme pernicioeux & Ennemys du public : Toutesfois afin queles consciences de tous hommes puissent estre tant plus convaincues, & tous pretextes ostez, Nous donnons a present *Advertissement Publicq* a toutes telles personnes, de ne demeurer plus long temps en leur Neutralité, ou se plaie Eux mesmes au lasche & mauvais pretexte d'Indifference, Mais quilz sapprestent d'entrer promptement au Conve-

nant

nant, & se joignent avec nous de tout leur pouuoir en la defence de cette Cause contre l'Ennemy commun, & redressent cy-apres par leur zele & promptitude, la faute quils ont faite par leur tiedeur ; En quoy ils monstrent leur sagesse & trouveront leur seurte ; Autrement Nous les Declarons Ennemys publicqs de la Religion & du Pays, & a estre censurez & punis comme Ennemys & Malins manifestes.

En quatriesme lieu, Parce que grand nombre du commun Peuple, sur des Mesprises par ignorance, faulses Informations, & Menaces, ou Compulsions, contre leurs volonte & inclination, ont esté induits & contraints de se joindre en Armes avec les Ennemys, contre la Religion & Pays Natal ; Nous declarons, que tous Soldats cômuns, qui sur l'humble recognoissance de leurs Erreurs precedentes, se presenteront volontairement & promptement pour entrer au Conuenant, & se joindront avec nous cordialement & reelement en la deffense de cette Cause, selon quil est seant aux bons Chrestiens & amateurs de leur Pays, seront librement receus au Conuenant & leur premiere erreur oubliee ; Autrement ilz ont a attendre le chastiment & punition de Delinquents opiniastres, & Malins.

En cinquiesme lieu, Parce que quelques vns de la Nation Escoisse, pour leurs propres & priuez interets, ou sous pretextes specieux & belles persuasions, se sont joints en Armes avec le parti Papistique, Prelatique & Malin, contre le Parlement & l'Estat d'Angleterre, & sans considerer la nature de la cause en laquelle ils se sont engagez, ni le grand interet de l'Eglise & Royaume d'Escoffe, sur lesquels cette Guerre enfin debuoit tourner, ont combatu contre la Religion & leur Pays natal. Pour cet effect, nous *Advertissons* de rechef tous ceux-la, de quelque condition ou rang quils soient, de se retirer promptement de cette Faction-la, de confesser leurs erreurs, & se joindre avec nous au Conuenant & a la cause de Dieu ez deux Royaumes, entre-cy & le premier jour de Mars prochain ; Autrement nous declarons au nom & de la part de l'Estat d'Angleterre, quils seront chastiez comme Malins du salut desquels on desespera ; Et nous declarons au nom & de la part du Royaume d'Escoffe, s'ils continuent en Armes apres le susdit premier jour de Mars prochain, ou desnient leur ayde & assistance a leur pays natal au temps de trouble

& danger, ils seront censurés & punis comme Ennemys publics de la Religion & de la Patrie, & transgresseurs perfides du Conuenant National, & leurs biens employez a l'usage du publicq.

En sixiesme lieu, Parce qu'il y a plusieurs Seigneurs, Cheualiers, Gentilshommes & autres, lesquels delaissant & abandonnant le Parlement d'*Angleterre*, & en se joignant aux Ennemys de la Religion, de la Prosperité du Roy, & de la Paix de ces Royaumes, ont fait la Division plus grande, & les Breches plus larges entre le Roy & son Parlement; Et par ce moyen, contre le debvoir de leurs places & vocations, ont esté la cause de l'effusion de beaucoup de sang innocent, de grand Pertes, & de plusieurs miseres & dangers, au detrimement du publicq des deux Royaumes, & Souffrances des particuliers en leurs Biens & Vyes, lesquels pourtant ne doibuent pas estre comptez parmi les premiers Autheurs de cette guerre desinaturee, ni parmi les Ennemys malicieux & desesperez de la Religion & de la Patrie. Nous declarons que tous ceux qui cesseront de continuer a faire opposition, retourneront a leur debvoir, & travailleront au bien de la Religion, & de la Paix publique, auront leurs Vyes & Libertez sauues, & seront receus a faueur; Mais afin qu'il y ait vne juste difference entre Ceux qui retournent si tard a leur debvoir, de Ceux-la qui ne sen sont point departis; Ilz doibuent attendre pour le payement des debtes du publicq, le soulagement des Charges communes des deux Royaumes, & la reparation des Pertes des particuliers; Toutes lesquelles, (au moins vne grande partie d'icelles) ont esté contractees & sont arriuees par leur faulte & procurement: Que leurs biens, en vne certaine proportion en seront responsables, ainsi que le Parlement & Ceux qui seront autorisez d'iceluy trouueront & jugeront en leur sagesse & discretion, estre necessaire pour cet effect; Lesquels pourtant seront aussi soigneux deles conseruer d'vne ruyne comme a punir leurs fautes; En quoy aussi le temps auquel ils retourneront & se presenteront avec vne intention reelle, & affection prompte de se joindre a la cause commune & entrer au Conuenant, seront particulierement considerez; Et au cas qu'ils persistent en leur opposition & ne retournent deuant le premier jour de *Mars* prochain, ilz n'ont aucune faueur a attendre, Mais seront punis comme Ennemys publics de la Religion & de la Patrie.

En 7^e lieu Parce que les Papistes manifestes & desguisez, selon les principes de leur Professio, ont eu & ont continuellement des Cōplots & desseins de changer nostre Religion en cette Isle, & apres auoir esté frustrez mainte-fois de leurs Entreprises, estans toujours au guet pour faire du mal, ont trouué moyen en ce temps, d'aliener le cœur du Roy, de ses Subjects Protestans & Fideles, & ont pris les Armes contre le Parlemēt & l'Estat, employans tout leur credit & pouuoir, a maintenir vne Guerre sanglante & desfigurée, se prometans a la fin, de remettre sur pied leur execrable Superstition & Idolatrie, au lieu de la Religion Refermee, & subjuguer le Roy & les Royaumes a la Puissance & Tyrannie du Pape. Nous declaron par celles cy, Que tous les Papis, tant manifestes que desguisez, qui ont esté ou sont a present, ou seront cy-apres actuellement en Armes, sous le faux pretexte de deffendre la Personne du Roy & son Authorité, ne doiuent attendre aucune faueur de nous, Mais d'estre punis comme Traistres & Ennemys declarez & intolerables de la Religion & de la Patrie. Nous comprenons sous cette mesme Declaration tous les *Irlandois* Rebelles, Papistes & autres, qui sont venus d'*Irlande* en ce Pays, & prestent leur Ayde en cette Guerre contre le Parlement & Royaume d'*Angleterre*.

Finalemēt, Parce qu'il y a quelques Esprits Meschans & Diaboliques aux deux Royaumes qui ont allumé & fomenté le feu de Division & Guerre entre le Roy & son Parlement, & qui ont mal conduit les Conseils & Affaires du Roy, a son propre deshonneur, & a la destruction de ses bons & loyaux Subjects, & qui ont donné des impressions Malignes aux autres, ou ont esté des Instrumens actifs & remuans des Troubles & Miseres aux Royaumes de nostre Souuerain. Nous declaron, Quanta Ceux qui sont ou seront cy-apres trouuez estre tels par les Cours Souueraines des Deux Royaumes respectivement ou par leurs Commissaires autorisez pour cet effect; Que comme la Conscience de leurs mauvais Comportemens les a faict desesperer d'obtenir aucune faueur, & leur faict faire incessamment de plus en plus du mal contre la Religion & la Patrie, ainsi doibuent ils attendre telle Execution de Justice qui est due aux Traistres, Ennemys de la Religion, du Roy, & des Royaumes, pour seruir d'Exemple & Terreur aux autres a l'advenir.

Et de plus nous declarons¹, Que tous les Biens reels & personnels, mobiles & immobiliers de Ceux qui ne se rendrôt a nous auant le Temps limité en l'Article sixiesme, comme Ceux lesquels ont esté exceptez du Pardon (Papistes en Armes, Rebeles, d'*Irlande*, & Ceux qui se trouueront compris dans l'Article precedent) auront leurs Biens confisquezz, qui seront employez au payement des debtes du public, au soulagement des charges des Royaumes, & a la Reparation des pertes des particuliers.

Et Nous faisons cette Declaration, sans estre poussez d'une presumption ou vaine gloire de nos Forces ou de nos Armees, Mais d'un pur sens du deuoir qui est requis & attendu des hauts Employs & services publics ausquels nous sommes engagez, & de l'assurance que nous auons de Dieu, par la Providence duquel la sauueté & bien de ces Royaumes nous sont commis pour le temps; Ayans aprez vne longue & serieuse Deliberation resolu & arresté, de ne mettre jamais les Armes bas, jusqu'a ce que la Verité & la Paix, sous la Benediction de Dieu, soient establies en cette Isle sur vn seur fondement pour les Generations presentes & a venir, que nous reputerons estre vn loyer suffisant de tout ce que nous pourrions faire ou souffrir en la poursuite de cette Cause.



FIN.

5

THE Doctrine & Discipline OF DIVORCE:

Restor'd to the good of both **SEXES**,
From the bondage of **CANON LAW**, and
other mistakes, to the true meaning of Scrip-
ture in the Law and Gospel compar'd.

Wherin also are set down the bad consequences of
abolishing or condemning of Sin, that which the
Law of God allowes, and Christ abolisht not.

Now the second time revis'd and much augmented,

In Two **BOOKS**:

To the Parliament of *England* with the Assembly.

The Author *J. M.*

MATTH. 13. 52.

*Every Scribe instructed to the Kingdome of Heav'n, is like the
Maister of a house which bringeth out of his treasury things
new and old.*

Prov. 18. 13.

*He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and
shame unto him.*

f. 2^o

LONDON,

1643

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TO THE
PARLIAMENT
OF
ENGLAND,
with the ASSEMBLY.

IF it were seriously askt, and it would be no untimely question, Renowned Parliament, select Assembly, who of all Teachers and Masters that have ever taught, hath drawn the most Disciples after him, both in Religion, and in manners, it might bee not untruly answer'd, Custome. Though vertue be commended for the most perswasive in her *Theory*; and Conscience in the plain demonstration of the spirit, finds most evincing, yet whether it be the secret of divine will, or the originall blindness we are born in, so it happ'ns for the most part, that Custome still is silently receiv'd for the best instructor. Except it be, because her method is so glib and easie, in some manner like to that vision of *Ezekiel*, rowling up her sudden book of implicit knowledge, for him that will, to take and swallow down at pleasure; which proving but of bad nourishment in the concoction, as it was heedlesse in the devouring, puffs up unhealthily, a certaine big face of pretended learning, mistaken among credulous men, for the wholesome habit of soundnesse and good constitution; but is indeed no other, then that swoln visage of counterfeited knowledge and literature, which not onely in private matts our education, but also in publick is the common climer into every chaire, where either Religion is preach't, or Law reported: filling each estate of life and profession, with abject and servil principles; depressing the high and Heaven-born spirit of Man, farre beneath the condition wherein either God created him, or sin hath sunke him. To persue the Allegory, Custome being but a meer face, as Echo is a meere voice, rests not in her unaccomplishment, untill by secret inclination, shee incorporate her selfe with error, who being a blind and Serpentine body without a head, willingly accepts what he wants, and supplies what her incompleatnesse went seeking. Hence it is, that Error supports Custome. Custome count'nances Error. And these two betweene them would persecute and chase away all truth and solid wisdom out of humane life, were it not that God, rather then man, once in many ages, calls together the prudent and Religious counsels of Men, deputed to repress the encroachments, and to worke off the inveterate blots and obscurities wrought upon our mindes by the suttile insinuating of Error and Custome:

Custom: Who with the numerous and vulgar train of their followers, make it their chief designe to envie and cry-down the industry of free reasoning, under the terms of humor, and innovations: as if the womb of teeming Truth were to be clos'd up, if shee presume to bring forth ought, that sorts not with their unchew'd notions and suppositions. Against which notorious injury and abuse of mans free soule to testifie and oppose the utmost that study and true labour can attaine, heretofore the incitement of men reputed grave hath led me among others; and now the duty and the right of an instructed Christian calls me through the chance of good or evill report, to be the sole advocate of a discountinanc'd truth: a high enterprise Lords and Commons, a high enterprise and a hard, and such as every seventh Son of a seventh Son does not venture on. Nor have I amidst the clamor of so much envie and impertinence, whether to appeal, but to the concurrence of so much piety and wisdom heer assembled. Bringing in my hands an ancient and most necessary, most charitable, and yet most injur'd Statute of *Mises*: not repeal'd ever by him who only had the authority, but thrown aside with much inconsiderat neglect, under the rubbish of Canonickall ignorance: as once the whole law was by some such like conveyance in *Isaahs* time. And hee who shall indeavour the amendment of any old neglected grievance in Church or State, or in the daily course of life, if he be gifted with abilities of mind that may raise him to so high an undertaking, I grant he hath already much whereof not to repent him; yet let me arreede him, not to be the foreman of any mis-judg'd opinion, unlesse his resolutions be firmly seated in a square and constant mind, not conscions to it self of any deserved blame, and regardless of ungrounded suspitions. For this let him be sure he shall be boorded presently by the ruder sort, but not by discreet and well nurtur'd men, with a thousand idle descants and surmises. Who when they cannot confute the least joyn't or sinew of any passage in the book; yet God forbid that truth should be truth because they have a boistrous conceit of some pretences in the Writer. But were they not more busie and inquisitive then the Apostle commends, they would heare him at least, rejoicing, *so the Truth be preach'd, whether of envie or other pretence whatsoever*: For Truth is as impossible to be soild by any outward touch, as the Sun beam. Though this ill hap wair on her nativity, that shee never comes into the world, but like a Bastard, to the ignominy of him that brought her forth: till Time the Midwife rather then the mother of Truth, have washt and salted the Infant, declar'd her legitimat, and Church the father of his young *Minerva*, from the needlesse causes of his purgation. Your selves can best witnesse this, worthy Patriots, and better will no doubt, hereafter: for who among ye of the formost that have travaill'd in her behalfe to the good of Church, or State, hath not been often traduct to be the agent of his owne by-ends, under pretext of Reformation. So much the more I shall not be unjust to hope, that however Infamy, or Envy may work in other men to doe her fretfull will against this discourse, yet that the experience of your owne uprightnesse mis-interpreted, will put ye in mind to give it free audience and generous construction. What though the brood of Belial, the drasse of men, to whom no liberty is pleasing, but unbridl'd and vagabond lust without pale or partition, will laugh broad perhaps, to see so great a strength of Scrip-
true.

ture mustering up in favour, as they suppose, of their debaucheries; they will know better, when they shall hence learne, that honest liberty is the greatest foe to dishonest licence. And what though others out of a waterish and queasy conscience because ever crasy and never yet sound, will rail and fancy to themselves, that injury and licence is the best of this Book? Did not the distemper of their own stomachs affect them with a dizzy megrim, they would soon tie up their tongues, and discern themselves like that *Abyssyn* blasphemer all this while reproaching not man but the Almighty, *the holy one of Israel*, whom they doe not deny to have belawgiv'n his owne sacred people with this very allowance, which they now call injury and licence, and dare cry shame on, and will doe yet a while, till they get a little cordiall sobriety to settle their qualming zeale. But this question concerns not us perhaps: Indeed mans disposition though prone to search after vain curiosities, yet when points of difficulty are to be discuss'd, appertaining to the removall of unreasonable wrong and burden from the perplext life of our brother, it is incredible how cold, how dull, and farre from all fellow feeling we are, without the spurre of self-concernment. Yet if the wisdom, the justice, the purity of God be to be cleer'd from foulest imputations which are not yet avoided, if charity be not to be degraded and trodd'n down under a civil Ordinance, if Matrimony be not to be advanc't like that exalted perdition, writ'n of to the *The Galunians*, above all that is called God, or goodnesse, nay, against them both, then I dare affirm there will be found in the Contents of this Booke, that which may concern us all. You it concerns chiefly, Worthies in Parliament, on whom as on our deliverers, all our grievances and cares by the merit of your eminence and fortitude are devolv'd: Me it concerns next, having with much labour and faithfull diligence first found out, or at least with a fearlesse and communicative candor first publisht to the manifest good of Christendome, that which calling to witnesse every thing mortall and immortall, I beleeve unfainedly to be true. Let not other men thinke their conscience bound to search continually after truth, to pray for enlightning from above to publish what they think they have so obtain'd & debarb me from conceiving my self ty'd by the same duties. Yee have now, doubtlesse by the favour and appointment of God, yee have now in your hands a great and populous Nation to Reforme from what corruption, what blindnes in Religion yee know well; in what a degenerat and fall'n spirit from the apprehension of native liberty, and true manlines, I am sure ye find: with what unbounded licence rushing to whordoms and adulteries needs not long enquiry: insomuch that the fears which men have of too strict a discipline, perhaps exceed the hopes that can bee in others, of ever introducing it with any great success. What if I should tell yee now of dispensations and indulgences, to give a litle the rains, to let them play and nibble with the bait a while; a people as hard of heart as that Egyptian Colony that went to *Canaan*. This is the common doctrine that adulterous and injurious divorces were not conniv'd only, but with eye open allow'd of old for hardnesse of heart. But that opinion, I trust, by then this following argument hath been well read, will be left for one of the mysteries of an indulgent Antichrist, to farm out incest by, and those his other tributary pollutions. What middle way can be tak'n then, may some interrupt, if we must

To the Parliament of England,

ther turne to the right nor to the left, and that the people hate to be reform'd : Mark then, Judges and Lawgivers, and yee whose Office is to be our teachers, for I will utter now a doctrine, if ever any other, though neglected or not understood, yet of great and powerfull importance to the governing of mankind. He who wisely would restrain the reasonable Soul of man within due bounds, must first himself know perfectly, how far the territory and dominion extends of just and honest liberty. As little must he offer to bind that which God hath loos'n'd, as to loos'n that which he hath bound. The ignorance and mistake of this high point, hath heapt up one huge half of all the misery that hath bin since Adam. In the Gospel we shall read a supercilious crew of masters, whose holiness, or rather whose evill eye, grieving that God should be so facill to man, was to set straiter limits to obedience, then God had set; to inflave the dignity of man, to put a garrison upon his neck of empty and overdignified precepts: And we shall read our Saviour never more greiv'd and troubl'd, then to meet with such a peevish madnesse among men against their own freedome. How can we expect him to be lesse offended with us, when much of the same folly shall be found yet remaining where it left ought, to the perishing of thousands. The greatest burden in the world is superstition; not onely of Ceremonies in the Church, but of imaginary and scarcrow sins at home. What greater weakening, what more subtle stratagem against our Christian warfare, when besides the grosse body of real transgressions to encounter; wee shall bee terrify'd by a vain and shadowy menacing assaults that are not: When things indifferent shall be set to over-front us, under the banners of sin, what wonder if wee bee routed, and by this art of our Adversary, fall into the subjection of worst and deadliest offences. The superstition of the Papist is, *touch not, taste not*, when God bids both: and ours is, *part not, separat not*, when God and charity both permits and commands. *Let all your things be done with charity*, saith St. Paul: and his Master saith, *See is the fulfilling of the Law*. Yet now a civil, an indifferent, a sometime diswaded Law of marriage, must be forc't upon us to fulfill not onely without charity, but against her. No place in Heav'n or Earth, except Hell, where charity may not enter: yet marriage the Ordinance of our solace and contentment, the remedy of our loneliness will not admit now either of charity or mercy to come in and mediate or pacifie the fierches of this gentle Ordinance, the unremedied loneliness of this remedy. Advise yee well, supreme Senat, if charity be thus excluded and expulst, how yee will defend the untainted honour of your own actions and proceedings: He who marries, intends as little to conspire his own ruine, as he that swears Allegiance: and as a whole people is in proportion to an ill Government, so is one man to an ill marriage. If they against any authority, Covenant, or Statute, may by the sovereign edict of charity, save not only their lives, but honest liberties from unworthy bondage, as well may he against any private Covenant, which hee never enter'd to his mischief, redeem himself from unsupportable disturbances to honest peace, and just contentment: And much the rather, for that to resist the highest Magistrat though tyrannizing, God never gave us expresse allowance, only he gave us reason, charity nature and good example to bear us out; but in this economical misfortune, thus to demean our selves, besides the warrant of those four great directors

directors, which doth as justly belong hither, we have an expresse law of God, and such a law, as wherof our Saviour with a solemn threat forbid the abrogating. For no effect of tyranny can sit more heavy on the Common-wealth, then this household unhappines on the family. And farewell all hope of true Reformation in the state, while such an evil as this lies undiscern'd or unregarded in the house. On the redresse wherof depends, not only the spiritfull and orderly life of our grown men, but the willing, and carefull education of our children. Let this therefore be new examin'd, this tenure and free-hold of mankind, this native and domestick Charter giv'n us by a greater Lord then that *Saxon King* the Confessor. Let the statutes of God be turn'd over, be scann'd a new, and consider'd not altogether by the narrow intellectuals of quotationists and common placers but (as was the ancient right of Counsels) by men of what liberall profession soever, of eminent spirit and breeding joyn'd with a diffuse and various knowledge of divine and human things; able to ballance and define good and evil, right and wrong, throughout every state of life; able to shew us the waies of the Lord, strait and faithfull as they are, not full of cranks and contradictions, and pit falling dispenses, but with divine insight and benignity measur'd out to the proportion of each mind and spirit, each temper and disposition, created to different each from other, and yet by the skill of wise conducting, all to become uniform in vertue. To expedite these knots were worthy a learned and memorable Synod; while our enemies expect to see the expectation of the Church stir'd out with dependencies and independencies how they will compound, and in what Calends. Doubt not, worthy Senators to vindicate the sacred honour and judgment of *Moses* your predecessor, from the shallow commenting of Scholasticks and Canonists. Doubt not after him to reach out to your steady hands to the mis-inform'd and wearied life of man: so restore this his lost heritage into the household state; wherewith be sure that peace and love the best subsistence of a Christian family will return home from whence they are now banish'd; places of prostitution will be lesse haunted, the neighbours bed lesse attempted, the yoke of prudent and manly discipline will be generally submitted to, sober and well order'd living will soon spring up in the Common-wealth. Ye have an author great beyond exception, *Moses*; and one yet greater, he who lodg'd in from abolishing every smallest jot and tittle of precious equity contain'd in that Law, with a more accurat and lasting *Malorch*; then either the Synagogue of *Ezra*, or the *Galilean School* at *Tiberias*; hath left us. Whatever else ye can enact, will scarce concern a third part of the British name: but the benefit and good of this your magnanimous example, will easily spread far beyond the banks of *Tweed* and the *Norman Isles*. It would not be the first, or second time, since our ancient *Druides*, by whom this Island was the Cathedra of Philosophy to *France*, left off their pagan rites, that England hath had this honour vouchsaf't from Heav'n, to give out reformation to the World. Who was it but our English *Constantine* that baptiz'd the Roman Empire? who but the *Northumbrian Willibrod*, and *Wulfstede* of *Devon* with their followers, were the first Apostles of *Germany*? who but *Alcuin* and *Wickes* our Country men open'd the eyes of *Europe*, the one in arts, the other in Religion. Let not England, forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live.

Know,



Know, Worthies, know and exercise the privilege of your honour'd Country. A greater title I heer bring ye, then is either in the power or in the policy of *Rome* to give her *Monarchs*; this glorious act will stile ye the defenders of Charity. Nor is this yet the highest inscription that will adorne so religious and so holy a defence as this; behold heer the pure and sacred Law of God, and his yet purer and more sacred name offering themselves to you first, of all Christian reformers to be acquitted from the long suffer'd ungodly attribute of patronizing Adultery. Deferre not to wipe off instantly these imputative blurs and stains cast by rude fancies upon the throne and beauty it selfe of inviolable holines: lest some other people more devout and wise then wee, bereave us this offer'd immortal glory, our wonted prerogative, of being the first asserter in every great vindication. For me, as farre as my part leads me, I have already my greatest gain assurance and inward satisfaction to have don in this nothing unworthy of an honest life, and studies well employ'd. With what event among the wise and right understanding handfull of men, I am secure. But how among the drove of Custom and Prejudice this will be relisht, by such whose capacity, since their youth run ahead into the easie creek of a System or a Medulla, sayls there at will under the blown physiognomy of their unlabour'd rudiments, for them, what their tast will be, I have also surety sufficient, from the entire league that hath bin ever between formal ignorance and grave obstinacie. Yet when I remember the little that our Saviour could prevail about this doctrine of Charity against the crabbed textuists of his time, I make no wonder, but rest confident that who so prefers either Matrimony, or other Ordinance before the good of man and the plain exigence of Charity, let him profess Papist, or Protestant, or what he will, he is no better then a Pharise, And understands not the Gospel: whom as a misinterpreter of Christ I openly protest against; and provoke him to the trial of this truth before all the world, and let him bethink him withall how he will soder up the shifting flaws of his ungirt permissions, his venial and unvenial dispences, wherewith the Law of God pardoning and unpardoning hath bin shamefully branded, for want of heed in glossing, to have eluded and bafst'd out all Faith and chastity from the marriagebed of that holy seed, with politick and judicial adulteries. I seek not to seduce the simple and illiterat; my errand is to find out the choicest and the learn'dest, who have this high gift of wisdom to answer solidly, or to be convinc'd. I crave it from the piety, the learning and the prudence which is hous'd in this place. It might perhaps more fitly have bin written in another tongue, and I had don so, but that the esteem I have of my Countries judgement, and the love I beare to my native language to serv it first with what I endeavour, made me speak it thus, ere I assay the verdict of outlandish readers. And perhaps also heer I might have ended names, but that the address of these lines chiefly to the Parliament of *England* might have seem'd ingrateful not to acknowledge by whose Religious care, unwearied watchfulness, couragious and heroick resolutions, I enjoy the peace and studious leisure to remain,

The Honourer and Attendant of their Noble worth and vertues,

John Milton.

THE
DOCTRINE
AND
DISCIPLINE
of DIVORCE;

Restor'd to the good of both Sexes.

I. BOOK.

The Preface.

That Man is the occasion of his owne miseries, in most of those evils which bee imputed to Gods inflicting. The absurdity of our canonists in their decrees about divorce. The Christian imperiall Lawes fram'd with more Equity. The opinion of Hugo Grotius, and Paulus Fagius: And the purpose in generall of this Discourse.



Any men, whether it be their fate, or fond opinion, easily perswade themselves, if God would but be pleas'd a while to withdraw his just punishments from us, and to restrain what power either the devill, or any earthly enemy hath to work us woe, that then mans nature would find immediate rest and releasement from all evils. But verily they who think so, if they be such as have a mind large enough to take into their thoughts a generall survey of human things, would soon prove themselves in that opinion farre deceiv'd. For though it were granted us by divine indulgence

to be exempt from all that can be harmfull to us from without, yet the perversinesse of our folly is so bent, that we should never lin hammering out of our owne hearts, as it were out of a flint, the seeds and sparkles of new misery to our selves, till all were in a blaze againe. And no marvell if out of our own hearts, for they are evill; but ev'n out of those things which God meant us, either for a principall good, or a pure contentment, we are still hatching and contriving upon our selves matter of continuall sorrow and perplexitie. What greater good to man then that revealed rule, whereby God vouchsafes to shew us how he would be worshipt? And yet that not rightly understood, became the cause that once a famous man in *Israel* could not but oblige his conscience to be the sacrificer, or if not, the jaylor of his innocent and only daughter. And was the cause oft-times that Armies of valiant men have given up their throats to a heathenish enemy on the Sabbath day: fondly thinking their defensive resistance to be as then a work unlawfull. What thing more instituted to the solace and delight of man then marriage? and yet the mis-interpreting of some Scripture directed mainly against the abusers of the Law for divorce giv'n by *Moses*, hath chang'd the blessing of matrimony not seldome into a familiar and co-inhabiting mischief; at least into a drooping and disconsolate household captivity, without refuge or redemption. So ungovern'd and so wild a race doth superstition run us from one extreme of abused liberty into the other of unmercifull restraint. For although God in the first ordaining of marriage, taught us to what end he did it, in words expressly implying the apt and cheerfull conversation of man with woman, to comfort and refresh him against the evill of solitary life, not mentioning the purpose of generation till afterwards, as being but a secondary end in dignity, though not in necessity; yet now, if any two be but once handed in the Church, and have tasted in any sort the nuptiall bed, let them find themselves never so mistak'n in their dispositions through any error, concealment, or misadventure, that through their different tempers, thoughts, and constitutions, they can neither be to one another a remedy against loneliness, nor live in any union or contentment all their dayes, yet they shall, so they be but found suitably weapon'd to the least possibility of sensuall enjoyment, be made, spight of *antipathy* to fadge together, and combine as they may to their unspeakable wearisomnes and despaire of all sociable delight in the ordinance which God establish't to that very end. What a calamity is this, and as the Wise-man, if he

were alive, would sigh out in his own phrase, what a *fore evill* is this under the *Sunne*! All which we can referre justly to no other author then the Canon Law and her adherents, not consulting with charitie the interpreter and guide of our faith, but resting in the meere element of the Text; doubtles by the policy of the devill to make that gracious ordinance become unsupportable, that what with men not daring to venture upon wedlock, and what with men wearied out of it, all inordinate licence might abound. It was for many ages that marriage lay in disgrace with most of the ancient Doctors, as a work of the flesh, almost a defilement, wholly deny'd to Priests, and the second time dissuaded to all, as he that reads *Tertullian* or *Ierom* may see at large. Afterwards it was thought so Sacramentall, that no adultery or desertion could dissolve it; and this is the sense of our Canon Courts in *England* to this day, but in no other reformed Church els: yet there remains in them also a burden on it as heave as the other two were disgracefull or superstitious, and of as much iniquity, crossing a Law not onely writt'n by *Moses*, but character'd in us by nature, of more antiquity and deeper ground then marriage it selfe; which Law is to force nothing against the faultles proprieties of nature: yet that this may be colourably done, our Saviours words touching divorce, are as it were congeal'd into a stony rigor, inconsistent both with his doctrine and his office, and that which he preacht onely to the conscience, is by Canonickall tyranny snatched into the compulsive censure of a judicall Court; where Laws are impos'd even against the venerable and secret power of natures impression, to love what ever cause be found to loath. Which is a hainous barbarisme both against the honour of marriage, the dignity of man and his soule, the goodnes of Christianitie, and all the humane respects of civilitie. Notwithstanding that some the wisest and graveest among the Christian Emperours, who had about them, to consult with, those of the Fathers then living, who for their learning and holines of life are still with us in great renowne, have made their statutes and edicts concerning this debate, far more easie and relenting in many necessary cases, wherein the Canon is inflexible. And *Hugo Grotius*, a man of these times, one of the best learned, seems not obscurely to adhere in his perswasion to the equity of those Imperiall decrees in his notes upon the *Evangelists*, much allaying the outward roughnesse of the Text, which hath for the most part been too immoderately expounded; and excites the diligence of others to enquire further into this question, as contain

ning many points that have not yet been explain'd. Which ever likely to remain intricate and hopelesse upon the suppositions commonly stuck to, the authority of *Paulus Fagius*, one so learned and so eminent in *England* once, if it might perswade, would strait acquaint us with a solution of these differences, no lesse prudent then compendious. He in his comment on the *Pentateuch* doubted not to maintain that divorces might be as lawfully permitted by the Magistrate to Christians, as they were to the Jewes. But because he is but brieft, and these things of great consequence not to be kept obscure, I shall conceive it nothing above my duty either for the difficulty or the censure that may passe thereon, to communicate such thoughts as I also have had, and do offer them now in this generall labour of reformation, to the candid view both of Church and Magistrate; especially because I see it the hope of good men, that those irregular and unspirituall Courts have ipun their utmost date in this Land; and some better course must now be constituted. This therefore shall be the task and period of this discourse to prove, first that other reasons of divorce besides adultery, were by the Law of *Moses*, and are yet to be allow'd by the Christian Magistrate as a peece of justice, and that the words of Christ are not hereby contraried. Next, that to prohibit absolutely any divorce whatsoever except those which *Moses* excepted is against the reason of Law, as in due place I shall shew out of *Fagius* with many additions. He therefore who by adventuring shall be so happy as with successe to light the way of such an expedient liberty and truth as this, shall restore the much wrong'd and over-sorrow'd state of matrimony, not onely to those mercifull and life-giving remedies of *Moses*, but, as much as may be, to that serene and blisfull condition it was in at the beginning; and shall deserve of all apprehensive men (considering the troubles and distempers which for want of this insight have bin so oft in Kingdomes, in States, and Families) shall deserve to be reck'n'd among the publick benefactors of civill and humane life; above the inventors of wine and oyle; for this is a far dearer, far nobler, and more desirable cherishing to mans life, unworthily expos'd to sadnes and mistake, which he shall vindicate. Not that licence and levity and unfettered breach of faith should herein be countnanc'd, but that some conscionable and tender pitty might be had of those who have unwarily in a thing they never practiz'd before, made themselves the bondmen of a luckles and helples matrimony. In which Argument he whose courage can serve him to give the first onset, must look
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for two severall oppositions: the one from those who having sworn themselves to long custom and the letter of the Text, will not out of the road: the other from those whose grosse and vulgar apprehensions conceit but low of matrimoniall purposes, and in the work of male and female think they have all. Nevertheless, it shall be here taught by due wayes to be made appeare, that those words of God in the institution, promising a meet help against loneliness; and those words of Christ, *That his yoke is easie and his burden light*, were not spoken in vain; for if the knot of marriage may in no case be dissolv'd but for adultery, all the burd'ns and services of the Law are not so intolerable. This onely is desir'd of them who are minded to judge hardly of thus maintaining, that they would be still and heare all out: nor think it equall to answer deliberate reason with fudden heat and noise; remembering this, that many truths now of reverend esteem and credit, had their birth and beginning once from singular and private thoughts; while the most of men were otherwise posselt; and had the fate at first to be generally exploded and exclaim'd on by many violent opposers; yet I may erre perhaps in soothing my selfe that this present truth reviv'd, will deserve on all hands to be not sinisterly receiv'd: in that it undertakes the cure of an inveterate disease crept into the best part of humane societie: and to doe this with no smarting corrosive, but with a smooth and pleasing lesson, which receiv'd hath the vertue to soften and dispell rooted and knotty sorrowes: and without enchantment if that be fear'd, or spell us'd, hath regard at once both to serious pitty, and upright honesty; that tends to the redeeming and restoring of none but such as are the object of compassion: having in an ill houre hamper'd themselves to the utter dispatch of all their most beloved comforts and repose for this lives term. But if we shall obstinately dislike this new overture of unexpected ease and recovery, what remains but to deplore the frowardnes of our hopeles condition, which neither can endure the estate we are in, nor admit of remedy either sharp or sweet. Sharp we our selves distast; and sweet, under whose hands we are, is scrupl'd and suspected as too luscious. In such a posture Christ found the *Jews*, who were neither won with the austerity of *John the Baptist*, and thought it too much licence to follow freely the charming pipe of him who sounded and proclaim'd liberty and reliefe to all distressed: yet Truth in some age or other will find her witness, and shall be justify'd at last by her own children.

CHAP. I.

The Position. Prov'd by the Law of Moses. That Law expounded and asserted to a morall and charitable use, first by Paulus Fagius; next with other additions.

TO remove therefore if it be possible, this great and sad oppression which through the strictnes of a literall interpreting, hath invaded and disturb'd the dearest and most peaceable estate of household society, to the over-burdening, if not the over-whelming of many Christians better worth then to be so deserted of the Churches considerate care, this position shall be laid down; first proving then answering what may be objected either from Scripture or light of reason.

That indisposition, unsuitnes, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindring and ever likely to hinder the main benefis of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, is a greater reason of divorce then naturall frigidity, especially if there be no children, and that there be mutual consent.

This I gather from the Law in Deut. 24. 1. *When a man hath taken a wife and married her, and it come to passe that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleansse in her, let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house, &c.* This Law, if the words of Christ may be admitted into our beleef, shall never while the world stands, for him be abrogated. First therefore I here set down what learned Fagius hath observ'd on this Law; *The Law of God, saith he, permitted divorce for the help of human weaknes. For every one that of necessity separates, cannot live single. That Christ deny'd divorce to his own, hinders not; for what is that to the unregenerate, who hath not attain'd such perfection? Let not the remedy be despis'd which was giv'n to weaknes. And when Christ saith, who marries the divorcee, commits adultery, it is to be understood if he had anyplot in the divorce. The rest I reserve untill it be disputed, how the Magistrate is to doe herein. From hence we may plainly discern a twofold consideration in this Law. First the end of the Lawgiver, and the proper act of the Law to command or to allow something just and honest, or indifferent. Secondly, his sufferance from some accidental result of evil by this allowance, which the Law cannot remedy. For if this Law have no other end or act but onely the allowance of a sin, though never to so good intention, that Law is no Law but sin muffled in the robe of Law, or Law disguis'd in the loose garment of sin. Both which are*
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too soule *Hypotheses* to save the *Phænomenon* of our Saviours answer to the Pharises about this matter. And I trust anon by the help of an intallible guide to perfer such *Primænicke* tables as shall mend the *Astronomy* of our wide expositors.

The cause of divorce mention'd in the Law is translated *some uncleannesse*; but in the Hebrew it sounds *nakednes of oughts, or any real nakednes*: which by all the learned interpreters is refer'd to the mind, as well as to the body, And what greater nakednes or unfitness of mind then that which hinders ever the solace and peacefull society of the married couple, and what hinders that more then the unfitness and defectiveness of an unconjugal mind. The cause therfore of divorce expres't in the position cannot but agree with that describ'd in the best and equalest sense of *Moses* Law. Which being a matter of pure charity, is plainly moral, and more now in force then ever: therfore surely lawfull. For if under the Law such was Gods gracious indulgence, as not to suffer the ordinance of his goodnes and favour, through any error to be ser'd and stigmatiz'd upon his servants to their misery and thraldome, much lesse will he suffer it now under the covenant of grace, by abrogating his former grant of remedy and releef. But the first institution will be objected to have ordain'd marriage inseparable. To that a little patience untill this first part have amply discours't the grave and pious reasons of this divorlive Law; and then I doubt not but with one gentle stroking to wipe away ten thousand teares out of the life of man: Yet thus much I shall now insist on, that what ever the institution were, it could not be so enormous, nor so rebellious against both nature and reason as to exalt it selfe above the end and person for whom it was instituted.

CHAP. II.

The first reason of this Law grounded on the prime reason of matrimony. That no cov'nant whatsoever obliges against the main end both of it self, and of the parties cov'ning.

FOR all sense and equity reclaims that any Law or Cov'nant how solemn or strait soever, either between God and man, or man and man, though of Gods joyning, should bind against a prime and principall scope of its own institution, and of both or either party

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cov'nanting: neither can it be of force to ingage a blameles creature to his own perpetuall sorrow, mistak'n for his expected solace, without suffering charity to step in and doe a contest good work of parting those whom nothing holds together, but this of Gods joyning, falsly suppos'd against the expresse end of his own ordinance. And what his chiefe end was of creating woman to be joynd with man, his own instituting words declare, and are infallible to informe us what is mariage and what is no mariage: unlesse we can think them set there to no purpose: *It is not good, saith he, that man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him.* From which words so plain, lesse cannot be concluded, nor is by any learned Interpreter, then that in Gods intention a meet and happy conuersion is the chiefeest and the noblest end of mariage: for we find here no expression so necessarily implying carnall knowledge, as this prevention of lonelines to the mind and spirit of man. To this *Fagius, Calvin, Pareus, Rivetus*, as willingly and largely assent as can be wisht. And indeed it is a greater blessing from God, more worthy so excellent a creature as man is, and a higher end to honour and sanctifie the league of marriage, whenas the solace and satisfaction of the mind is regarded and provided for before the sensitive pleasing of the body. And with all generous persons married thus it is, that where the mind and person pleases aptly, there some unaccomplishment of the bodies delight may be better born with, then when the mind hangs off in an unclosing disproportion, though the body be as it ought; for there all corporall delight will soon become unfavoury and contemptible. And the solitarines of man, which God had namely and principally order'd to prevent by mariage, hath no remedy; but lies under a worse condition then the loneliest single life; for in single life the absence and remotenes of a helper might inure him to expect his own comforts out of himselfe, or to seek with hope; but here the continuall sight of his deluded thoughts without cure, must needs be to him, if especially his complexion incline him to melancholy, a daily trouble and pain of losse in som degree like that which Reprobats feel. Lest therefore so noble a creature as man should be shut up incurably under a worse evill by an easie mistake in that ordinance which God gave him to remedy a lesse evill, reaping to himselfe sorrow while he went to rid away solitarines, it cannot avoid to be concluded, that if the woman be naturally so of disposition as will not help to remove, but help to increase that same God-forbidd'n lonelines which will in time draw on with it a generall

nerall discomfort and dejection of mind, not be seeming either Christian profession or morall conversation, unprofitable and dangerous to the Common-wealth: when the household estate, out of which must flourish forth the vigor and spirit of all publick enterprizes, is so ill contented and procur'd at home, and cannot be supported; such a mariage can be no mariage whereto the most honest end is wanting: and the agrieved person shall doe more manly, to be extraordinary and singular in claiming the due right whereof he is frustrated, then to piece up his lost contentment by visiting the Stews, or stepping to his neighbours bed, which is the common shift in this misfortune; or els by suffering his usefull life to wast away, and be lost under a secret affliction of an unconscionable size to humane strength. Against all which evils the mercy of this Mo-saick Law was graciously exhibited.

CHAP. III.

The ignorance and iniquity of Canon Law, providing for the right of the body in marriage, but nothing for the wrongs and greivances of the mind. An objection, that the mind should be better lookt to before contract answered.

HOW vain therefore is it, and how preposterous in the Canon Law to have made such carefull provilion against the impediment of carnall performance, and to have had no care about the unconversing inability of mind, so defective to the purest and most sacred end of matrimony: and that the vessell of voluptuous enjoyment must be made good to him that has tak'n it upon trust without any caution, when as the mind from whence must flow the acts of peace and love, a far more pretious mixture then the quintessence of an excrement, though it be found never so deficient and unable to performe the best duty of marriage in a cheerfull and agreeable conversation, shall be thought good enough, how ever flat and melancholious it be, and must serve, though to the eternall disturbance and languishing of him that complains him. Yet wisdom and charity weighing Gods own infliction, would think that the pining of a sad spirit wedded to one who should deserve to be freed, as well as the impatience of a sensuall desire to providently reliev'd. Tis read to us in the Liturgy, that we must not marry, so as we use the fleshy appetite, like brute beasts that have no understanding: but the

the Canon so runs, as if it dreamt of no other matter then such an appetite to be satisfy'd; for if it happen that nature hath stopt or extinguisht the veins of sensuality, that marriage is annull'd. But though all the faculties of the understanding and conversing part after triall appeare to be so ill and so averfly met through natures unalterable working, as that neither peace, nor any sociable contentment can follow, tis as nothing, the contract shall stand as firme as ever, betide what will. What is this but secretly to instruct us, that however many grave reasons are pretended to the married life, yet that nothing indeed is thought worth regard therein, but the prescrib'd satisfaction of an irrational heat; which cannot be but ignominious to the state of marriage, dishonourable to the undervalu'd soule of man, and even to Christian doctrine it selfe. While it seems more mov'd at the disappointing of an impetuous nerve, then at the ingenuous grievance of a mind unreasonably yoakt; and to place more of marriage in the channell of concupiscence, then in the pure influence of peace and love, whereof the souls lawfull contentment is the onely fountain.

But some are ready to object, that the disposition ought seriously to be consider'd before. But let them know again, that for all the warinesse can be us'd, it may yet befall a discreet man to be mistak'n in his choice, and we have plenty of examples. The sobrest and best govern'd men are least practiz'd in these affairs; and who knowes not that the bashfull mutenes of a virgin may oft-times hide all the unlivelines and naturall sloth which is really unfit for conversation; nor is there that freedom of access granted or presum'd, as may suffice to a perfect discerning till too late: and where any indisposition is suspected, what more usuall then the perswasion of friends, that acquaintance, as it increases, will amend all. And lastly, it is not strange though many who have spent their youth chastly, are in some things not so quick-sighted, while they hast too eagerly to light the nuptiall torch; nor is it therefore that for a modest error a man should forfeit so great a happines, and no charitable means to release him. Since they who have liv'd most loosely by reason of their bold accustoming, prove most succesfull in their matches, because their wild affections unsetling at will, have been as so many divorces to teach them experience. When as the sober man honouring the appearance of modesty, and hoping well of every sociall vertue under that veile, may easily chance to meet, if not with a body impenetrable, yet often with a mind to all other due conversation

sation inaccessible, and to all the more estimable and superior purposes of matrimony uselesse and almost liveles: and what a solace, what a fit help such a comfort would be through the whole life of a man, is lesse pain to conjecture then to have experience.

CHAP. IIII.

The Second Reason of this Law, because without it, marriage as it happens is not a remedy of that which it promises, as any rationall creature would expect. That marriage, if we pattern from the beginning as our Saviour bids, was not properly the remedy of lust, but the fulfilling of conjugal love and helpfulnes.

ANd that we may further see what a violent and cruell thing it is to force the continuing of those together, whom God and nature in the gentlest end of marriage never joynd, divers evils and extremities that follow upon such a compulsion, shall here be set in view. Of evils the first and greatest is, that hereby a most absurd and rash imputation is fixt upon God and his holy Laws, of conniving and dispensing with open and common adultery among his chosen people; a thing which the rankest politician would think it shame and disworship, that his Laws should countenance; how and in what manner this comes to passe, I shall reserve, till the course of method brings on the unfolding of many Scriptures. Next the Law and Gospel are hereby made liable to more then one contradiction, which I referre also thither. Lastly, the supreme dictate of charitie is hereby many wayes neglected and violated. Which I shall forthwith addresse to prove. First we know St. Paul saith, *It is better to marry than to burn.* Marriage therefore was giv'n as a remedy of that trouble: but what might this burning mean? Certainly not the meer motion of carnall lust, not the meer goad of a sensitive desire; God does not principally take care for such cattell. What is it then but that desire which God put into Adam in Paradise before he knew the sin of incontinence; that desire which God saw it was not good that man should be left alone to burn in; the desire and longing to put off an unkindly solitarines by uniting another body, but not without a fit soule to his in the cheerfull society of wedlock. Which if it were so needfull before the fall, when man was much more perfect in himselfe, how much more is it needfull now

against all the sorrows and casualties of this life to have an intimate and speaking help, a ready and reviving associate in marriage: whereof who misles by chancing on a mute and spiritles mate, remains more alone then before, and in a burning lesse to be contain'd then that which is fleshly and more to be consider'd; as being more deeply rooted even in the faultles innocence of nature. As for that other burning, which is but as it were the venom of a lusty and overabounding concoction. strict life and labour, with the abatement of a full diet may keep that low and obedient enough: but this pure and more inbred desire of joying to it selfe in conjugall fellowship a fit conversing soul (which desire is properly call'd love) *is stronger then death, as the spouse of Christ thought, many waters cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it.* This is that rationall burning that marriage is to remedy, not to be allay'd with fasting, nor with any penance to be subdu'd, which how can he assuage who by mis-hap hath met the most unmeetest and unsutable mind? Who hath the power to struggle with an intelligible flame, not in paradise to be resisted, become now more ardent by being fail'd of what in reason it lookt for; and even then most unquench't, when the importunity of a provender burning is well enough appeas'd; and yet the soule hath obtained nothing of what it justly desires. Certainly such a one forbidden to divorce, is in effect forbidden to marry, and compell'd to greater difficulties then in a single life; for if there be not a more human burning which marriage must satisfie, or els may be dissolv'd, then that of copulation, marriage cannot be honorable for the meet reducing and terminating of lust between two: seeing many beasts in voluntary and chosen couples, live together as unadulterously, and are as truly married in that respect. But all ingenuous men will see that the dignity & blessing of marriage is plac'd rather in the mutual enjoyment of that which the wanting soul needfully seeks, then of that which the plenteous body would joyfully give away. Hence it is that *Plato* in his festival discours bings in *Socrates* relating what he fain'd to have learnt from the Prophetesse *Diotima*, how Love was the sonne of *Penury*, begot of *Pleury* in the garden of *Jupiter*. Which divinely sorts with that which in effect *Moses* tells us, that Love was the son of *Lonelines*, begot in Paradise by that sociable and helpfull aptitude which God implanted between man and woman toward each other. The same also is that burning mention'd by *S. Paul*, whereof marriage ought to be the remedy; the Flesh hath other mutuall and easie curbs which are in the power of any temperate

rate man. When therefore this originall and finles *Pennury* or *Lonelines* of the soul cannot lay it selfe down by the side of such a meet and acceptable union as God ordain'd in marriage, at least in some proportion, it cannot conceive and bring forth *Love*, but remains utterly unmarried under a formall wedlock and still burnes in the proper meaning of *S. Paul*. Then enters *Hate*, not that Hate that sins, but that which onely is naturall dissatisfaction and the turning aside from a mistaken object: if that mistake have done injury, it fails not to dismisle with recompence; for to retain still, and not be able to love, is to heap up more injury. Thence this wise and pious Law of dimittion now defended took beginning: He therfore who lacking of his due in the most native and human end of mariage, thinks it better to part then to live sadly and injuriously to that cheerfull covenant (for not to be belov'd & yet retain'd is the greatest injury to a gentle spirit) he I say who therfore seeks to part, is one who highly honours the married life and would not stain it: and the reasons which now move him to divorce, are equall to the best of those that could first warrant him to marry; for, as was plainly shewn, both the hate which now diverts him and the loneliness which leads him still powerfully to seek a fit help, hath not the least grain of a sin in it, if he be worthy to understand himselfe.

CHAP. V.

The Third Reason of this Law, because without it, he who hath happn'd where he finds nothing but remediles offences and discontents, is in more and greater temptations then ever before.

THirdly, Yet it is next to be fear'd, if he must be still bound without reason by a deafe rigor, that when he perceives the just expectation of his mind defeated, he will begin even against Law to cast about where he may find his satisfaction more compleat, unlesse he be a thing heroically vertuous, and that are not the common lump of men for whom chiefly the Laws ought to be made, though not to their sins yet to their unfinning weakneses, it being above their strength to endure the lonely estate, which while they shund, they are fal'n into. And yet there follows upon this a worse temptation; for if he be such as hath spent his youth unblamably, and layd up his chiefest earthly comforts in the enjoyment of a contented mariage, nor did neglect that furdurance which was to be obtain'd therein by constant prayers, when he shall find himselfe bound fast to

an uncomplying discord of nature, or, as it oft happens, to an image of earth and fleam, with whom he lookt to be the copartner of a sweet and glad some society and sees withall that his bondage is now inevitable, though he be almost the strongest Christian, he will be ready to despair in vertue, and mutin against divine providence: and this doubtles is the reason of those lapses and that melancholy despair which we see in many wedded persons, though they understand it not, or pretend other causes, because they know no remedy, and is of extreme danger; therefore when human frailty furcharg'd, is at such a losse, charity ought to venture much, and use bold physick, lest an over-toft faith endanger to shipwrack.

CHAP. VI.

The Fourth Reason of this Law, that God regards Love and Peace in the family, more then a compulsive performance of marriage, which is more brake by a grievous continuance, then by a needfull divorce.

Fourthly, Mariage is a covenant the very beeing wherof consists, not in a forc't cohabitation, and counterfet performance of duties, but in unfained love and peace. And of matrimoniall love no doubt but that was chiefly meant, which by the ancient Sages was thus parabl'd. That Love, if he be not twin-born; yet hath a brother wondrous like him, call'd *Anteros*: whom while he seeks all about, his chance is to meet with many fals and faining Desires that wander singly up and down in his likenes. By them in their borrow'd garb, Love though not wholly blind, as Poets wrong him, yet having but one eye, as being born an Archer aiming, and that eye not the quickest in this dark region here below, which is not Loves proper sphere, partly out of the simplicity, and credulity which is native to him, often deceiv'd, imbraces and consorts him with these obvious and suborned striplings, as if they were his Mothers own Sons, for so he thinks them, while they suttly keep themselves most on his blind side. But after a while, as his manner is, when soaring up into the high Tower of his *Apogee*, above the shadow of the earth, he darts out the direct rayes of his then most piercing eyesight upon the impostures, and trim disguises that were us'd with him, and discerns that this is not his genuin brother, as he imagin'd, he has no longer the power to hold fellowship with such a personated mate. For strait his arrows loose their golden heads, and shed their purple feathers, his silken breades untwine, and slip their knots, and that original and fire vertue giv'n him by Fate, all on a sudden goes out and leaves him under-

undeifi'd, and despoil'd of all his force: till finding *Anteros* at last, he kindles and repairs the almost faded ammunition of his Deiry by the reflection of a coequal & *homogeneous* fire. Thus mine author sung it to me; and by the leave of those who would be counted the only grave ones, this is no meer amatorious novel (though to be wise and skilful in these matters, men heretofore of greatest name in vertue, have esteem'd it one of the highest arks that human contemplation circling upward, can make from the' globy sea wheron she stands) but this is a deep and serious verity, shewing us that Love in marriage cannot live nor subsist, unlesse it be mutual; and where love cannot be, there can be left of wedlock nothing, but the empty husk of an outside matrimony; as undelightfull and unpleasing to God, as any other kind of hypocritie. So farre is his command from tying men to the observance of duties, which there is no help for, but they must be dissembld. If *Salomons* advice be not overtrolick, *Live joyfully*, saith he, *with the wife whom thou lovest, all thy dayes, for that is thy portion*. How then, where we finde it impossible to rejoyce or to love, can we obey this precept? how miserably do we defraud our selves of that comfortable portion which God gives us, by striving vainly to glue an error together which God and nature will not joyn; adding but more vexation and violence to that blisfull society by our importunate superstition, that will not heark'n to *St. Paul*, *1 Cor* 7. who speaking of marriage and divorce, determines plain enough in generall, that God therein *hath call'd us to peace and not to bondage*. Yea God himself commands in his Law more then once, and by his Prophet *Malachy*, as *Calvin* and the best translations read, that *he who hates let him divorce*; that is, he who cannot love: hence is it that the Rabbins and *Maimonides* famous among the rest in a Book of his set forth by *Buxtorfius*, tells us that *Divorce was permitted by Moses to preserve peace in marriage, and quiet in the family*. Surely the Jewes had their saving peace about them, as well as we, yet care was tak'n that this wholsom provision for household peace should also be allow'd them; and must this be deny'd to Christians? O perversnes! that the Law should be made more provident of peacemaking then the Gospel! that the Gospel should be put to beg a most necessary help of mercy from the Law, but must not have it; and that to grind in the mill of an undelighted and servil copulation, must be the only forc't work of a Christian marriage, oft times with such a yokefellow, from whom both love and peace, both nature and Religion mourns to be separated. I cannot therefore be so diffident, as not securely to conclude, that

that he who can receive nothing of the most important helps in marriage, being thereby disinabl'd to return that duty which is his, with a clear and hearty countenance; and thus continues to grieve whom he would not, and is no lesse griev'd, that man ought even for loves sake and peace to move Divorce upon good and liberall conditions to the divorc't. And it is a lesse breach of wedlock to part with wife and quiet consent betimes, then still to soile and profane that mystery of joy and union with a polluting sadnes and perpetuall distemper; for it is not the outward continuing of marriage that keeps whole that cov'nant; but whosoever does most according to peace and love, whether in marriage, or in divorce, he it is that breaks marriage least; it being so often written, that *Love only is the fulfilling of every Commandment.*

CHAP. VII.

The Fifth Reason, that nothing more hinders and disturbs the whole life of a Christian, then a matrimony found to be incurably unfit, and doth the same in effect that an Idolatrous match.

Fifthly, as those Priests of old were not to be long in sorrow, or if they were, they could not rightly execute their function; so every true Christian in a higher order of Priesthood is a person dedicate to joy and peace, offering himself a lively sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and there is no Christian duty that is not to be season'd and set off with cheerfulness; which in a thousand outward and intermitting crosses may yet be done well as in this vale of tears, but in such a bolome affliction as this, crushing the very foundation of his inmost nature, when he shall be forc't to love against a possibility, and to use dissimulation against his soule in the perpetuall and ceaseles duties of a husband, doubtles his whole duty of serving God must needs be blurr'd and tainted with a sad unpreparednesse and dejection of spirit, wherein God has no delight. Who sees not therefore how much more Christianity it would be to break by divorce that which is more broken by undue and forcible keeping, rather then to cover the Altar of the Lord with continuall teares, so that he regardeth not the offering any more, rather then that the whole worship of a Christian mans life should languish and fade away beneath the weight of an immeasurable griefe and discouragement. And because some think the childr'n of a second matrimony succeeding a divorce would not be a holy seed, it hinder'd not the Jews from being so, and why should we not think them more holy then the off-spring of

of a former ill-twisted wedlock, begott'n only out of a bestiall necessity without any true love or contentment, or joy to their parents, so that in some sense we may call them the *children of wrath* and anguish, which will as little conduce to their sanctifying, as if they had been bastards; for nothing more then disturbance of mind suspends us from approaching to God. Such a disturbance especially as both assaults our faith and trust in Gods providence, and ends, if there be not a miracle of vertue on either side, not onely in bitterness and wrath, the canker of devotion, but in a desperate and vitious carelesnes; when he sees himselfe without fault of his, train'd by a deceitfull bait into a snare of misery, betray'd by an alluring ordinance, and then made the thrall of heaviness and discomfort by an undivorting Law of God, as he erroneously thinks, but of mans iniquitie, as the truth is; for that God preferres the free and cheerfull worship of a Christian, before the grievous and exacted obervance of an unhappy marriage, besides that the general maxims of Religion assure us, will be more manifest by drawing a parallell argument from the ground of divorcing an Idolatresse, which was, lest she should alienate his heart from the true worship of God: and what difference is there whether she pervert him to superstition by her enticing sorcery, or disinable him in the whole service of God through the disturbance of her unhelpfull and unfit society; and so drive him at last through murmuring and despair to thoughts of Atheisme; neither doth it lessen the cause of separating in that the one willingly allures him from the faith, the other perhaps unwillingly drives him; for in the account of God it comes all to one that the wife looses him a servant; and therefore by all the united force of the *Decalogue* she ought to be disbanded, unlesse we must set marriage above God and charity, which is a doctrine of devils no lesse then forbidding to marry.

CHAP. VIII.

That an idolatrous Heretick ought to be divorc'd after a convenient space given to hope of conversion. That place of Corinth. 7. restor'd from a twofold erroneous exposition, and that the common expositors strangely contradict the moral law.

AND here by the way to illustrate the whole question of divorce, here this treatise ends, I shall not be loath to spend a few lines in hope to give a full resolve of that which is yet so much controverted, whether an idolatrous heretick ought to be divorc'd. To the re-

solving wherof we must first know that the *Jews* were commanded to divorce an unbelieving Gentile for two causes: first, because all other Nations, especially the *Canaanites* were to them unclean. Secondly, to avoid seducement. That other Nations were to the *Jews* impure, even to the separating of marriage, will appear out of *Exod.* 34. 16. *Deut.* 7. 3. 6. compar'd with *Ezra* 9. 2. also chap. 10. 10, 11. *Nehem.* 13. 30. This was the ground of that doubt rais'd among the *Corinthians* by some of the Circumcision; Whether an unbeliever were not still to be counted an unclean thing, so as that they ought to divorce from such a person. This doubt of theirs S. *Paul* removes by an Evangelicall reason, having respect to that vision of S. *Peter*, wherein the distinction of clean and unclean being abolisht, all living creatures were sanctified to a pure and Christian use, and mankind especially, now invited by a general call to the covenant of grace. Therefore saith S. *Paul*, *The unbelieving wife is sanctify'd by the husband*; that is, made pure and lawfull to his use; so that he need not put her away for fear lest her unbelief should defile him; but that if he found her love stil towards him, he might rather hope to win her. The second reason of that divorce was to avoid seducement, as is prov'd by comparing those places of the Law, to that which *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* did by divine warrant in compelling the *Jews* to forgoe their wives. And this reason is morall and perpetuall in the rule of Christian faith without evasion. Therefore saith the Apostle 2 *Cor.* 6. *Mis-yoke not together with infidels*, which is interpreted of marriage in the first place. And although the former legall pollution be now don off, yet there is a spirituall contagion in Idolatry as much to be shun'd; and though seducement were not to be fear'd, yet where there is no hope of converting, there alwayes ought to be a certain religious averfation and abhorring, which can no way sort with marriage. Therefore saith S. *Paul*, *What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousnesse? what communion hath light with darknes? what concord hath Christ with Belial? what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?* And in the next verse but one he moralizes and makes us liable to that command of *Isaiah*, *Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive ye.* And this command thus Gospelliz'd to us, hath the same force with that wheron *Ezra* grounded the pious necessity of divorcing. Neither had he other commission for what he did, then such a generall command in *Deut.* as this, nay not so direct as this; for he is bid there not to marry, but not bid to divorce,

force, and yet we see with what a zeal and confidence he was the author of a generall divorce between the faithfull and unfaithfull seed. The Gospell is more plainly on his side according to three of the Evangelists, then the words of the Law; for where the case of divorce is handled with such a severity as was fittest to aggravate the fault of unbounded licence; yet still in the same chapter when it comes into question afterwards whether any civill respect, or natural relation which is dearest, may be our plea to divide, or hinder, or but delay our duty to religion, we heare it determin'd that father and mother, and wife also is not only to be hated, but forsak'n, if we mean to inherit the great reward there promis'd. Nor will it suffice to be put off by saying we must forsake them onely by not consenting or not complying with them, for that were to be don, and roundly too, though being of the same faith they should but seek, out of a fleshly tendernes to weak'n our Christian fortitude with worldly persuasions, or but to unsettle our constancie with timorous and softning suggestions: as we may read with what a vehemence *Iob* the patient of men, rejected the desperat counsels of his wife; and *Ados* the meekest being thoroughly offended with the prophane speeches of *Zippora*, sent her back to her father. But if they shall perpetually at our elbow seduce us from the true worship of God, or defile and daily scandalize our conscience by their hopeles continuance in misbelief, then ev'n in the due progresse of reason, and that ever-equall proportion which justice proceeds by, it cannot be imagin'd that this cited place, commands lesse then a totall and finall separation from such an adherent; at least that no force should be us'd to keep them together: while we remember that God commanded *Abraham* to send away his irreligious wife and her son for the offences which they gave in a pious family. And it may be guest that *David* for the like cause dispos'd of *Michal* in such a sort, as little differ'd from a dismission. Therefore against reiterated scandals and seducements which never cease, much more can no other remedy or retirement be found but absolute departure. For what kind of matrimony can that remain to be, what one dutie between such can be perform'd as it should be from the heart, when their thoughts and spirits flie asunder as farre as heaven from hell; especially if the time that hope should send forth her expected blossoms be past in vain. It will easily be true that a father or brother may be hated zealously, and lov'd civilly or naturally; for those duties may be perform'd at distance, and doe admit of any long abscence: but how the peace and perpetu-

all cohabitation of marriage can be kept. how that benevolent and intimate communion of body can be held with one that must be hated with a most operative hatred, must be forsak'n and yet continually dwelt with and accompanied, he who can distinguish, hath the gift of an affection very oddly divided and contriv'd: while others both just and wise, and *Salomon* among the rest, if they may not hate and forsake as *Moses* enjoyns, and the Gospell imports, will find it impoissible not to love otherwise then will fort with the love of God, whose jealousie brooks no corrivall. And whether is more likely, that Christ bidding to forsake wife for religion, meant it by divorce as *Moses* meant it, whole Law grounded on morall reason, was both his office and his essence to maintain, or that he should bring a new morality into religion, not only new, but contrary to an unchangeable command, and dangerously derogating from our love & worship of God. As if when *Moses* had bid divorce absolutely, and Christ had said, hate & forsake, and his Apostle had said, no communion with Christ & *Belial*, yet that Christ after all this could be understood to say, divorce not, no not for religion, seduce, or seduce not. What mighty and invisible Remora is this in matrimony able to demurre, and to contemne all the divorfive engines in heaven or earth. Both which may now passe away if this be true, for more then many jots or tittles, a whole morall Law is abolisht. But if we dare beleve it is not, then in the method of religion, and to save the honour and dignity of our faith, we are to retreat, and gather up our selves from the observance of an inferior and civill ordinance, to the strict maintaining of a generall and religious command, which is written, *Thou shalt make no cov'nant with them*, Deut. 7. 2. 3. and that cov'nant which cannot be lawfully made, we have directions and examples lawfully to dissolve. Also Chron. 2. 19. *Shouldst thou love them that hate the Lord?* No doubtlesse: for there is a certain scale of duties, there is a certain Hierarchy of upper and lower commands, which for want of studying in right order, all the world is in confusion.

Upon these principles I answer, that a right beleever ought to divorce an idolatrous heretick, unlesse upon better hopes: however that it is in the belevers choice to divorce or not.

The former part will be manifest thus; first, an apostate idolater whether husband or wife seducing was to die by the decree of God, Deut. 13. 6. 9. that mariage therefore God himselfe dis-joyns: for others born idolaters the morall reason of their dangerous keeping, and

and the incommunicable antagony that is between Christ and Belial, will be sufficient to enforce the commandment of those two inspir'd reformers, Ezra and Nehemiah, to put an Idolater away as well under the Gospel.

The latter part, that although there be no seducement fear'd, yet if there be no hope giv'n, the divorce is lawfull, will appeare by this, that idolatrous marriage is still hatefull to God; therefore still it may be divorc't by the patern of that warrant that *Ezra* had; and by the same everlasting reason: Neither can any man give an account wherefore, if those whom God joyns, no man may separate, it should not follow, that, whom he joyns not, but hates to joyn, thole man ought to separate. But saith the Lawyer, that which ought not have been don, once don, avails. I answer, this is but a crotchet of the Law, but that brought against it, is plain Scripture. As for what Christ spake concerning divorce, tis'confest by all knowing men, he meant onely between them of the same faith. But what shall we say then to *S. Paul*, who seemes to bid us not divorce an Infidell willing to stay? We may safely say thus; that wrong collections have been hitherto made out of those words by modern Divines, His drift, as was heard before, is plain: not to command our stay in marriage with an Infidel, that had been a flat renouncing of the religious and morall Law; but to inform the *Corinthians* that the body of an unbeliever was not defiling, if his desire to live in Christian wedlock shewd any likelihood that his heart was opening to the faith: and therefore advises to forbear departure so long, till nothing have been neglected to set forward a conversion: this I say he advises, and that with certain cautions; not commands: If we can take up so much credit for him, as to get him belev'd upon his own word; for what is this els but his counsell in a thing indifferent, *as he rest speak I, not the Lord*; for though it be true that the Lord never spake it, yet from *S. Pauls* mouth we should have took it as a command, had not himself forewarn'd us, and disclaim'd; which, notwithstanding if we shall still avouch to be a command, he palpably denying it, this is not to expound *S. Paul*, but to out-face him. Neither doth it follow; but that the Apostle may interpose his judgement in a case of Christian liberty without the guilt of adding to Gods word. How doe we know marriage or single life to be of choice, but by such like words as these, *I speak this by permission, not of commandment, I have no command of the Lord, yet I give my judgement*. Why shall not the like words have leave to signifie a freedom in this our present question,

though *Beza* deny. Neither is the Scripture hereby lesse inspir'd because *S. Paul* confesses to have writt'n therein what he had not of command; for we grant that the Spirit of God led him thus to expresse himselfe to Christian prudence in a matter which God thought best to leave uncommanded. *Beza* therefore must be warily read when he taxes *S. Austine* of *Blasphemy* for holding that *S. Paul* spake heer as of a thing indifferent. But if it must be a command, I shall yet the more evince it to be a command that we should herein be left free; and that out of the Greek word us'd in the 12.v. which instructs us plainly, there must be a joynt assent and good liking on both sides; he that will not deprave the Text, must thus render it; *If a brother have an unbelieving wife, and she joyne in consent to dwell with him* (which cannot utter lesse to us then a mutuall agreement) let him not put her away for the meer surmise of Judaicall uncleannes: and the reason follows, for the body of an infidell is not polluted, neither to benevolence, nor to procreation. Moreover, this note of mutual complacencie forbids all offer of seducement; which to a person of zeal cannot be attempted without great offence: if therefore seducement be fear'd, this place hinders not divorce. Another caution was put in this supposed command, of not bringing the beleever into *bondage* heerby, which doubtles might prove extreme, if Christian liberty and conscience were left to the humor of a pagan staying at pleasure to play with, or to vex and wound with a thousand scandals and burdens, above strength to bear: If therefore the conceived hope of gaining a soul, come to nothing, then charity commands that the beleever be not wearied out with endlesse waiting under many grievances fore to his spirit; but that respect be had rather to the present suffering of a true Christian, then the uncertain winning of an obdur'd heretick. The counsell we have from *S. Paul* to hope, cannot countermand the moral and Evangelick charge we have from God to feare seducement, to separate from the misbeleever, the unclean, the obdurat. The Apostle wisheth us to hope, but does not send us a wooll-gathering after vain hope: he saith, *How knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife*, that is, till he try all due means, and set some reasonable time to himselfe after which he may give over washing an *Ethiope*. if he will heare the advice of the Gospell. *Cast not pearls before swine*, saith Christ himself. *Let him be to thee as a heathen. Shake the dust off thy feet*. If this be not enough, *hate and forsake*, what relation soever. And this also that follows, must appertain to the precept, *Let every man wherein he is call'd therein abide*

abide with God. v. 24. that is, so walking in his inferior calling of marriage, as not by dangerous subjection to that ordinance, to hinder and disturb the higher calling of his Christianity. Last, and never too oft remembred, whether this be a command or an advice, we must looke that it be so understood, as not to contradict the least point of morall religion that God hath formerly commanded, otherwise what doe we but set the morall Law and the Gospell at civill war together: and who then shall be able to serve those two masters?

CHAP. IX.

That adultery is not the greatest breach of matrimony, that there may be other violations as great.

NOW whether Idolatry or Aldultery be the greatest violation of marriage, if any demand, let him thus consider, that among Christian Writers touching matrimony, there be three chiefe ends thereof agreed on; Godly society. next civill. and thirdly, that of the marriage-bed. Of these the first in name to be the highest and most excellent, no baptiz'd man can deny; nor that Idolatry finites directly against this prime end, nor that such as the violated end is, such is the violation: but he who affirms adultery to be the highest breach, affirms the bed to be the highest of marriage, which is in truth a grosse and borish opinion, how common soever; as farre from the countenance of Scripture, as from the light of all clean philosophy, or civill nature. And out of question the cheerfull help that may be in marriage toward sanctity of life, is the purest and to the noblest end of that contract: but if the particular of each person be consider'd, then of those three ends which God appointed, that to him is greatest which is most necessary: and marriage is then most brok'n to him, when he utterly wants the fruition of that which he most sought therein, whether it were religious, civill, or corporall society. Of which wants to do him right by divorce only for the last and meanest, is a perverse injury, and the pretended reason of it as frigid as frigidity it selfe, which the *Code* and *Canon* are only sensible of. Thus much of this controversie. I now return to the former argument. And having shewn that disproportion, contrariety, or numnesse of minde may justly be divorc't, by proving already that the prohibition therof opposes the expresse end of Gods institution, suffers not marriage to satisfie that intellectuall and innocent desire which God himselfe kindl'd in man to be the bond of wedlocke but only to remedy a sublernary and bestial burning, which frugal diet
without

without marriage would easily chaste'n. Next that it drives many to transgresse the conjugall bed, while the soule wanders after that satisfaction which it had hope to find at home, but hath mis't. Or els it sits repining even to Atheism; finding it self hardly dealt with, but misdeeming the cause to be in Gods Law, which is in mans unrighteous ignorance. I have shew'n also how it unties the inward knot of marriage, which is peace and love (if that can be untid' which was never knit) while it aimes to keep fast the outward formalitie; how it lets perish the Christian man, to compel impossibly the married man.

CHAP. X.

The Sixth Reason of this Law, that to prohibit divorce sought for natural causes is against nature.

THe sixt place declares this prohibition to be as respectlesse of human nature as it is of religion, and therefore is not of God. He teaches that an unlawfull marriage may be lawfully divorc't. And that those who having thoroughly discern'd each others disposition which oft-times cannot be till after matrimony, shall then find a powerful reluctance and recoil of nature on either side blasting all the content of their mutuall society, that such persons are not lawfully married (to use the Apostles words) *Say these things as a man, or saith not the Law also the same?* for it is writ'n, Deut. 22. *Thou shalt not sowe thy vineyard with divers seeds, lest thou defile both. Thou shalt not plow with an Oxe and an Asse together, and the like.* I follow the pattern of St. Pauls reasoning; *Doth God care for Asses and Oxen; how ill they yoke together, or is it not said altogether for our sakes? for our sakes no doubt this is writ'n.* Yea the Apostle himself in the forecited 1 Cor. 6. 14. alludes from that place of Deut. to forbid mis-yoking marriage; as by the Greek word is evident, though he instance but in one example of mis-matching with an Infidell: yet next to that what can be a fouler incongruity, a greater violence to the reverend secret of nature, then to force a mixture of minds that cannot unite, and to sowe the furrow of mans nativity with seed of two incoherent and uncombining dispositions; which act being kindly and voluntarie, as it ought, the Apostle in the language he wrote call'd *Eunomia*, and the Latines *Benevolence*. intimating the original therof to be in the understanding and the will; if not, surely there is nothing which might more properly be call'd a malevolence rather; and is the most injurious and unnaturall tribute that can be extorted from a person endow'd

dew'd with reason, to be made pay out the best substance of his body, and of his soul too, as some think, when either for just and powerfull causes he cannot like, or from unequall causes finds not recompence. And that there is a hidden efficacie of love and hatred in man as well as in other kinds, not morall, but naturall, which though not alwayes in the choyce, yet in the successe of mariage wil ever be most predominant, besides daily experience, the author of *Ecclesiasticks*, whose wisdom hath set him next the Bible, acknowledges, 13. 16. *A man*, saith he, *will cleave to his like*. But what might be the cause, whether each ones allotted *Genius* or proper Starre, or whether the supernall influence of Schemes and angular aspects or this elementall *Crafft* here below, whether all these jointly or singly meeting friendly, or unfriendly in either party, I dare not, with the men I am likest to clasp, appear so much a Philosopher as to conjecture. The ancient proverb in *Homer* lesse abstruse intitles this worke of leading each like person to his like, peculiarly to God himselfe: which is plain enough also by his naming of a meet or like help in the first epousall instituted; and that every woman is meet for every man, none so absurd as to affirm. Seeing then there is indeed a twofold Seminary or stock in nature, from whence are deriv'd the issues of love and hatred distinctly flowing through the whole masse of created things, and that Gods doing ever is to bring the due likenesses and harmonies of his workes together, except when out of two contraries met to their own destruction, he moulds a third existence, and that it is error, or some evil Angel which either blindly or maliciously hath drawn together in two persons ill imbarckt in wedlock the sleeping discords and enmities of nature lull'd on purpose with some false bait, that they may wake to agony and strife, later then prevention could have wisht, if from the bent of just and honest intentions beginning what was begun, and so continuing, all that is equall, all that is fair and possible hath been tri'd, and no accommodation likely to succeed what folly is it still to stand combating and battering against invincible causes and effects, with evill upon evill, till either the best of our dayes be linger'd out, or ended with some speeding sorrow. The wise *Ecclesiasticks* advites rather, 37. 27. *My sonne, prove thy soule in thy life, see what is evill for it, and give not that unto it*. Reason he had to say so; for if the noysomnesse or disfigurement of body can soon destroy the sympathy of mind to wedlock duties, much more wil the annoyance and trouble of mind infuse it selfe into all the faculties and acts of the body, to render

them invalid, unkindly, and even unholy against the fundamentall law book of nature, which *Moses* never thwarts, but reverences: therefore he commands us to force nothing against sympathy or naturall order, no not upon the most abject creatures; to shew that such an indignity cannot be offer'd to man without an impious crime. And certainly those divine meditating words of finding out a meet and like help to man have in them a consideration of more then the indefinite likenesse of womanhood; nor are they to be made waste paper on, for the dulnesse of Canon divinity: no nor those other allegorick precepts of beneficence fetcht out of the closet of nature to teach us goodnes and compassion in not compelling together unmatchable societies or if they meet through mischance, by all consequence to dis-joyn them, as God and nature signifies and lectures to us not onely by those recited decrees, but ev'n by the first and last of all his visible works; when by his divorcing command the world first rose out of Chaos, nor can be renewed again out of confusion but by the separating of unmeet consorts.

CHAP. XI.

The seventh reason, That sometimes continuance in marriage may be evidently the shortning or endangering of life to either party, both Law and divinitie concluding, that life is to be prefer'd before marriage the intended solace of life.

Seventhly, The Canon Law and Divines consent, that if either party be found contriving against anothers life, they may be sever'd by divorce; for a sin against the life of marriage, is greater then a sin against the bed: the one destroyes, the other but defiles: The same may be said touching those persons who being of a pensive nature and cours of life, have sum'd up all their solace in that free and lightsome conversation which God and man intends in marriage: wherof when they see themselves depriv'd by meeting an unsociable consort, they oft-times resent one anothers mistake so deeply, that long it is not ere grieve end one of them. When therefore this dnager is foreseen, that the life is in perill by living together, what matter is it whether helps grieve, or wilfull practice be the cause; This is certain, that the preservation of life is more worth then the compulsory keeping of marriage; and it is no lesse then cruelty to force a man to remain in that state as the solace of his life, which he and his friends know will be either the undoing or the disheartning of his life. And what is life without the vigor and spiritfull exercise
of

of life? how can it be usefull either to private or publick employment? shall it therefore be quite dejected, though never so valuable, and left to moulder away in heaviness for the superstitious and impossible performance of an ill-driv'n bargain? Nothing more inviolable then vowes made to God; yet we read in *Numbers* that if a wife had made such a vow, the meer will and authoritie of her husband might break it; how much more may he breake the error of his own bonds with an unfit and mistak'n wife, to the saving of his welfare, his life, yea his faith and vertue from the hazard of over-strong temptations; for if man be Lord of the Sabbath, to the curing of a Fever, can he be lesse then Lord of mariage in such important causes as these?

CHAP. XII.

The eighth reason, It is probable, or rather certain, that every one who happens to marry, hath not the calling, and therefore upon unfitness found and considered, force ought not to be us'd.

Eighthly, It is most sure that some ev'n of those who are not plainly defective in body yet are destitute of all other marriageable gifts, and consequently have not the calling to marry; unless nothing be requisite therto but a meer instrumentall body; which to affirm, is to that unanimous Covenant a reproach: yet it is as sure that many such, not of their own desire, but by the perswasion of friends, or not knowing themselves, doe often enter into wedlock; where finding the difference at length between the duties of a married life, and the gifts of a single life; what unfitness of mind, what wearisomnesse, what scruples and doubts to an incredible offence and displeasure, are like to follow between, may be too imagin'd: whom thus to shut up and immitre and shut up together, the one with a mischosen mate, the other in a mistak'n calling, is not a course that Christian wisdom and tenderneesse ought to use. As for the custome that some parents and guardians have of forcing mariages, it will be better to say nothing of such a savage inhumanity, but only thus, that the Law which gives not all freedom of divorce to any creature endur'd with reason to assassinated, is next in cruelty.

CHAP. XIII.

The ninth reason, Because marriage is not a meer carnall union, but a human Society, where that cannot reasonably be had, there can be no matrimony. Marriage compar'd with all other covenants and vowes warrantably bro-

ken for the good of man. Marriage the Papists Sacrament, and unfit marriage the Protestants Idoll.

Ninthly, I suppose it will be allow'd us that marriage is a human Society, and that all human society must proceed from the mind rather then the body, els it would be but a kind of animall or beastish meeting; if the mind therefore cannot have that due company by marriage, that it may reasonably and humanly desire, that marriage can be no human society, but a certain formality; or guilding over of little better then a brutish congresse, and so in very wisdom and purenesse to be dissolv'd.

But marriage is more then human, *the Covenant of God*, Prov. 2. 17. therefore man cannot dissolve it. I answer, if it be more then human, so much the more it argues the chiefe society thereof to be in the soule rather then in the body, and the greatest breach therof to be unfitnessse of mind rather then defect of body: for the body can have least affinity in a covenant more then human, so that the reason of dissolving holds good the rather. Again, I answer, that the Sabbath is a higher institution, a command of the first Table, for the breach wherof God hath farre more and ofner testify'd his anger, then for divorces, which from *Moses* to *Malachy* he never took displeasure at, nor then neither. if we mark the Text; and yet as oft as the good of man is concern'd, he not onely permits, but commands to break the Sabbath. What covenant more contracted with God, and lesse in mans power, then the vow which hath once past his lips? yet if it be found rash, if offensive, if unfruitfull either to Gods glory or the good of man, our doctrine forces not error and unwillingnes irksomly to keep it, but counsels wisdom and better thoughts boldly to break it; therefore to enjoyn the indissoluble keeping of a marriage found unfit against the good of man both soul and body, as hath bin evidenc't, is to make an Idoll of marriage, to advance it above the worship of God and the good of man, to make it a transcendent command, above both the second and the first Table, which is a most prodigious doctrine.

Next, wheras they cite out of the *Proverbs*, that it is the *Covenant of God*, and therefore more then human, that consequence is manifestly false: for so the covenant which *Zedechiah* made with the Infidell King of *Babel*, is call'd the *Covenant of God*. Ezek. 17. 19. which would be strange to heare counted more then a human covenant. So every covenant between man and man, bound by oath, may be call'd the

covenant

covenant of God, because God therein is attested. So of marriage he is the authour and the witnes; yet hence will not follow any divine attraction more then what is subordinate to the glory of God and the main good of either party; for as the glory of God and their esteemed fitness one for the other, was the motive which led them both at first to think without other revelation that God had joyn'd them together. So when it shall be found by their apparent unfitness, that their continuing to be man and wife is against the glory of God and their mutuall happiness, it may assure them that God never joyn'd them; who hath reveal'd his gracious will not to set the ordinance above the man for whom it was ordain'd: not to canonize marriage either as a tyrannesse or a goddesse over the enfranchiz'd life and soul of man: for wherein can God delight, wherein be worshipt, wherein be glorify'd by the forcible continuing of an improper and ill-yoking couple? He that lov'd not to see the disparity of severall cattell at the plow, cannot be pleas'd with any vast unmeetnesse in marriage. Where can be the peace and love which must invite God to such a house, may it not be fear'd that the not divorcing of such a helpless disagreement, will be the divorcing of God finally from such a place? But it is a triall of our patience they say: I grant it: but which of *Jobs* afflictions were sent him with that law, that he might not use means to remove any of them if he could? And what if it subvert our patience and our faith too? Who shall answer for the perishing of all those soules perishing by stubborn expositions of particular and inferior precepts against the generall and supreme rule of charity? They dare not affirm that marriage is either a Sacrament, or a mystery, though all those sacred things give place to man, and yet they invest it with such an awfull sanctity, and give it such adamantine chains to bind with, as if it were to be worshipt like some Indian deity, when it can conferre no blessing upon us, but works more and more to our misery. To such teachers the saying of *S. Peter* at the Councell of *Jerusalem* will doe well to be apply'd: *Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the necks of Christian men, which neither the Jews, Gods ancient people, nor we are able to bear: and nothing but unwary expounding hath brought upon us.*

CHAP. XIV.

Considerations concerning Familisme, Antinomianisme, and why it may be thought that such opinions may proceed from the undue restraint of some just liberty, then which no greater cause to contemne discipline.

TO these considerations this also may be added as no improbable conjecture; seeing that sort of men who follow *Anabaptism, Familism, Antinomianism*, and other fanaticke dreams (if we understand them not amisse) be such most commonly as are by nature addicted to Religion, of life also not debauched, and that their opinions having full swinge, do end in satisfaction of the flesh, it may be come with reason into the thoughts of a wise man, whether all this proceed not partly, if not chiefly, from the restraint of some lawfull liberty, which ought to be giv'n men, and is deny'd them. As by Physick we learn in menstruous bodies, where natures current hath been stopt, that the suffocation and upward forcing of some lower part, affects the head and inward sense with dotage and idle fancies. And on the other hand, whether the rest of vulgar men not so religiously professing do not give themselves much the more to whoredom and adulteries, loving the corrupt and venial discipline of clergie Courts, but hating to heare of perfect reformation: when as they foresee that then fornication shall be aufterly censur'd, adultery punished, and mariage the appointed refuge of nature, though it hap to be never so incongruous and displeasing, must yet of force be worn out, when it can be to no other purpose but of strife and hatred, a thing odious to God. This may be worth the study of skilfull men in Theology, and the reason of things: and lastly to examine whether some undue and ill grounded strictnesse upon the blamelesse nature of man, be not the cause in those in those places where already reformation is, that the discipline of the Church so often and so unavoidably brok'n is brought into contempt and derision. And if it be thus, let those who are still bent to hold this obstinate *liberty*, to prepare themselves as to share in the account for all these transgressions, when it shall be demanded at the last day by one who will scan and sift things with more then a licerall wisdom of equity; for if these reasons be duly ponder'd, and that the Gospell is more jealous of laying on excessive burdens then ever the Law was, lest the soule of a Christian which is inestimable, should be overtempred and cast away, considering also that many properties of nature, which the power of regeneration it selfe never alters, may cause dislike,

like of conversing even between the most sanctify'd, which continually grating in harsh tune together, may breed some jarre and discord, and that end in rancor and strife, a thing so opposite both to mariage and to Christianity. it would perhaps be lesse schandall to divorce a naturall disparity, then to link violently together an unchristian dissention, committing two ensnared soules inevitably to kindle one another, not with the fire of love, but with a hatred inconcilable, who were they dislevered, would be straight friends in any other relation. But if an alphabetical servility must be still urged, it may so fall out, that the true Church may unwittingly use as much cruelty in forbidding to divorce, as the Church of Antichrist doth wilfully in forbidding to marry.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

The Ordinance of Sabbath and marriage compar'd. A parbole no unfrequent figure in the Gospel. Excesse en'd by contrary extesse. Christ neither did, nor could abrogate the Law of divorce, but only reprove the abuse thereof.



Therto the Position undertaken hath bin declar'd, and prov'd by a Law of God, that Law prov'd to be moral, and unabolishable for many reasons equal, honest, charitable, just, annex thereto. It follows now that those places of Scripture which have a seeming to revoke the providence of Moses, or rather that mercifull decree of God, be forthwith explain'd and reconcil'd. For what are all these reasonings worth will some reply, whenas the words of Christ are plainly against all divorce, except in case of fornication. To whom he whose minde were to answer no more but this, *except also in case of charity*, might safely appeal to the more plain words of Christ in defence of so excepting. *Thou shalt doe no manner of worke* saith the commandment of the Sabbath. Yes saith Christ works of charity. And shall we be more severe in paraphrasing the considerat and tender Gospel, then he was in expounding the rigid and peremptory Law? What was ever in all appearance lesse made for man, and more for God alone then the Sabbath? yet when the good of man comes into

into the scales, we hear that voice of infinite goodnesse and benignity that *Sabbath was made for man, not man for Sabbath*. What thing ever was more made for man alone and lesse for God then mariage? And shall we load it with a cruel and senseles bondage utterly against both the good of man and the glory of God? Let who so will now listen, I want neither pall nor mitre, I stay neither for ordination or induction, but in the firm faith of a knowing Christian, which is the best and truest endowment of the keyes, I pronounce, the man who shall bind so cruelly a good and gracious ordinance of God, hath not in that the Spirit of Christ. Yet that every text of Scripture seeming opposite may be attended with a due exposition, this other part ensues, and makes account to find no slender arguments for this assertion out of those very Scriptures, which are commonly urg'd against it.

First therefore let us remember as a thing not to be deny'd, that all places of Scripture wherein just reason of doubt arises from the letter, are to be expounded by considering upon what occasion every thing is set down: and by comparing other Texts. The occasion which induc't our Saviour to speak of divorce, was either to convince the extravagance of the Pharises in that point, or to give a sharp and vehement answer to a tempting question. And in such cases that we are not to repose all upon the literall terms of so many words, many instances will teach us: Wherin we may plainly discover how Christ meant not to be tak'n word for word, but like a wise Physician, administering one excessse against another to reduce us to a perfect mean: Where the Pharises were strict, there Christ seems remisse; where they were too remisse, he saw it needfull to seem most severe: in one place he censures an unchast look to be adultery already committed: another time he passes over actuall adultery with lesse reproof then for an unchast look; not so heavily condemning secret weaknes, as open malice: So heer he may be justly thought to have giv'n this rigid sentence against divorce, not to cut off all remedy from a good man who finds himself consuming away in a disconsolate and uninjoy'd matrimony, but to lay a bridle upon the bold abuses of those over-weening *Rabbies*, which he could not more effectually doe, then by a counterway of restraint curbing their wild exorbitance almost into the other extreme: as when we bow things the contrary way, to make them come to their naturall straightnesse. And that this was the only intention of Christ is most evident; if we attend but to his own words and protestation made in the same Sermon, not many verses before he treats of divorcing, that he came

not to abrogate from the Law *one jot or tittle*, and denounces against them that shall so teach.

But *S. Luke*, the verse immediatly before going that of divorce inserts the same caveat, as if the latter could not be understood without the former; and as a witness to produce against this our wilfull mistake of abrogating, which must needs confirm us that what ever els in the political law of more special relation to the Jews might cease to us, yet that of those precepts concerning divorce, not one of them was repeal'd by the doctrine of Christ, unless we have vow'd not to beleve his own cautious and immediat profession; for if these our Saviours words inveigh against all divorce, and condemn it as adultery, except it be for adultery, and be not rather understood against the abuse of those divorces permitted in the Law, then is that Law of *Moses*, Deut. 24. 1. not onely repeal'd and wholly annull'd against the promise of Christ and his known profession, not to meddle in matters Judicial, but that which is more strange, the very substance and purpose of that Law is contradicted and convinc'd both of injustice and impurity, as having authoriz'd and maintain'd legall adultery by statute. *Moses* also cannot scape to be guilty of unequall and unwise decrees, punishing one act of secret adultery by death, and permitting a whole life of open adultery by Law. And albeit Lawyers write that some political edicts, though not approv'd, are yet allow'd to the scum of the people and the necessity of the times; these excuses have but a weak pulse: for first, we read, not that the scoundrel people, but the choicest, the wisest, the holiest of that nation have frequently us'd these lawes, or such as these in the best and holiest times. Secondly, be it yeilded, that in matters not very bad or impure, a human law giver may slacken something of that which is exactly good, to the disposition of the people and the times: but if the perfect, the pure, the righteous law of God, for so are all his statutes and his judgements, be found to have allow'd smoothly without any certain reprehension, that which Christ afterward declares to be adultery, how can we free this Law from the horrible endightment of being both impure, unjust, and fallacious.

CHAP. II.

How divorce was permitted for hardnesse of heart, cannot be understood by the common exposition. That the Law cannot permit much lesse enact a permission of sin.

N Either wil it serve to say this w^s permitted for the hardnes of their hearts, in that sense as it is usually explain'd, for the Law

were then but a corrupt and erroneous School-master, teaching us to dash against a vitall maxim of religion, by doing foull vill in hope of some uncertain good.

This onely Text not to be match't again throughout the whole Scripture, wherby God in his perfect Law should seem to have granted to the hard hearts of his holy people under his owne hand, a civill immunity and free charter to live and die in a long successive adultery, under a covenant of works, till the *Messiah*, and then that indulgent permission to be strictly deny'd by a covenant of grace; besides the incoherence of such a doctrine, cannot, must not be thus interpreted, to the raising of a paradox never known til then, onely hanging by the twin'd thred of one doubtfull Scripture, against so many other rules and leading principles of religion, of justice, and purity of life. For what could be granted more either to the fear, or to the lust of any tyrant, or politician, then this authority of *Moses* thus expounded; which opens him a way at will to damne up justice, and not onely to admit of any *Romish* or *Austrian* dispences, but to enact a statute of that which he dares not seeme to approve, ev'n to legitimate vice, to make sinne it selfe, the ever alien & vassal sin, a free Citizen of the Common-wealth, pretending onely these or these plausible reasons. And well he might, all the while that *Moses* shall be alledg'd to have done as much without shewing any reason at all. Yet this could not enter into the heart of *David*, *Psal.* 94. 20. how any such authority as endeavours to fashion wickednes by a law, should derive it selfe from God. And *Isaiah* layes woe upon them that decree unrighteous decrees, 10. 1. Now which of these two is the better Lawgiver, and which deserves most a woe, he that gives out an edict singly unjust, or he that confirms to generations a fixt and unmolested impunity of that which is not onely held to be unjust, but also unclean, and both in a high degree, not only as they themselves affirm, an injurious expulsion of one wife, but also an unclean freedom by more then a patent to wed another adulterously? How can we therefore with safety thus dangerously confine the free simplicity of our Saviours meaning to that which meerly amounts from so many letters, whenas it can consist neither with his former and cautionary words, nor with other more pure and holy principles, nor finally with the scope of charity, commanding by his expresse commission in a higher strain. But all rather of necessity must be understood as only against the abuse of that wise and ingenu-

ingenuous liberty which *Moses* gave, and to terrifie a roaving conscience from sinning under that pretext.

CHAP. III.

That to allow sin by Law, is against the nature of Law, the end of the Law-giver and the good of the people. Impossible therefore in the Law of God. That it makes God the author of sin, more then any thing objected by the Jesuits or Arminians against Predestination.

BUT let us yet further examin upon what consideration a Law of licence could be thus giv'n to a holy people for the hardnesse of heart. I suppose all wil answer, that for some good end or other. But here the contrary shall be prov'd, First, that many ill effects, but no good end of such a sufferance can be shewn; next, that a thing unlawful can for no good end whatever be either don or allow'd by a positive law. If there were any good end aim'd at, that end was then good, either as to the Law, or to the lawgiver licencing; or as to the person licenc't. That it could not be the end of the Law, whether Moral or Judiciall to licence a sin, I prove easily out of *Rom. 5. 20. The Law enter'd that the offence might abound*, that is, that sin might be made abundantly manifest to be hainous and displeasing to God, that so his offer'd grace might be the more esteem'd. Now if the Law in stead of aggravating and terrifying sin, shall give out licence, it foils it selfe, and turns recreant from its own end: it forestalls the pure grace of Christ which is through righteousness, with impure indulgences which are through sin. And instead of discovering sin, for by the Law is the knowledge thereof saith *S. Paul*, and that by certain and true light for men to walk in safely, it holds out fals and dazling fires to stumble men: or like those miserable flies to run into with delight, and be burnt: for how many soules might easily think that to be lawfull, which the Law and Magistrate allow'd them? Again we read, *1 Tim. 1. 5. The end of the Commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unsained*. But never could that be charity to allow a people what they could not use with a pure heart, but with conscience and faith both deceiv'd, or els despis'd. The more particular end of the Judicial Law is set forth to us clearly, *Rom. 13. that God hath giv'n to that Law a Sword not in vain, but to be a terror to evil works, a revenge to execute wrath upon him that doth evil*. If this terrible commission should but forbear to punish wickednes, were it other to be accounted then partial and unjust? but if it

begin to write indulgence to vulgar uncleannes can it doe more to corrupt and shame the end of its own being? Lastly, if the Law allow sin, it enters into a kind of covenant with sin, and if it doe, there is not a greater sinner in the world then the Law it selfe. The Law, to use an allegory something different from that in *Philo Iudeus* concerning *Amaleck*, though haply more significant, the Law is the *Israelite*, and hath this absolute charge given it Deut. 25. *To blot out the memory of sin the Amalekite from under heav'n, not to forget it.* Again, the Law is the *Israelite*, and hath this expresse repeated command *to make no covenant with sin the Canaanite*, but to expell him, lest he prove a snare. And to say truth it were too rigid and reasonlesse to proclaime such an enmity between man and man, were it not the type of a greater enmity between law and sin. I spake ev'n now, as if sin were condemn'd in a perpetual *villenage* never to be free by law, never to be *manumitted*: but iure sin can have no tenure by law at all but is rather an eternal outlaw, and in hostility with law past all attonement: both *diagonal* contraries, as much allowing one another, as day and night together in one hemisphere. Or if it be possible, that sin with his darknes may come to composition, it cannot be without a foul eclipse, and twilight to the law, whose brightnesse ought to surpass the noon. Thus we see how this unclean permittance defeats the sacred and glorious end both of the Moral and Judicial Law.

As little good can the lawgiver propose to equity by such a lavish remission as this: if to remedy hardnes of heart. *Paras* and other divines confesse, it more encreases by this liberty, then is lessn'd: and how is it probable that their hearts were more hard in this that it should be yeilded to, then in any other crime? Their hearts were set upon ulury, and are to this day, no Nation more; yet that which was the endammaging only of their estates, was narrowly forbid; this which is thought the extreme injury and dishonour of their Wives and daughters with the defilement also of themselves, is bounteously allow'd. Their hearts were as hard under their best Kings to offer in high places, though to the true God; yet that but a small thing is strictly forwarn'd; this accounted a high offence against one of the greatest moral duties, is calmly permitted and establish'd. How can it be evaded but that the heavy censure of Christ should fall worse upon this lawgiver of theirs, then upon all the Scribes and Pharises? For they did but omit Judgement and Mercy to trifle in Mint and Cummin, yet all according to Law; but this their Lawgiver altogether as punctuall in such niceties, goes marching on to adulte-

adulteries, through the violence of divorce by Law against Law. If it were such a cursed act of *Pilate* a subordinate Judge to *Cæsar*, over-
sway'd by those hard hearts with much a doe to suffer one transgres-
sion of Law but once, what is it then with lesse a doe to publish a
Law of transgression for many ages? Did God for this come down
and cover the Mount of *Sinai* with his glory, uttering in thunder
those his sacred Ordinances out of the bottomlesse treasures of his
wisdome and infinit purenes to patch up an ulcerous and rott'n com-
mon-wealth with strict and stern injunctions; to wash the skin and
garments for every unclean touch, and such easie permission giv'n to
pollute the soule with adulteries by publick authority, without dis-
grace, or question? No, it had bin better that man had never known
Law or matrimony, then that such foul iniquity should be fastned
upon the holy One of *Israel*, the Judge of all the earth, and such a
peece of folly as *Belzebub* would not commit, to divide against him-
self and pervert his own ends; or if he to compasse more certain mis-
chief, might yeild perhaps to faine some good deed, yet that God
should enact a licence of certain evill for uncertain good against His
own glory and purenes, is abominable to conceive. And as it is de-
structive to the end of Law, and blasphemous to the honour of the
lawgiver licencing, so is it as pernicious to the person licenc'd. If a
private friend admonish not, the Scripture saith *he hates his brother,*
and test him perishe; but if he sooth him, and allow him in his faults, the
Proverbs teach us *he strends a net for his neighbour's feet, and worketh ruin*.
If the Magistrate or Prince forget to administer due justice and re-
strain not sin, *Eli* himself could say *it made the Lords people to transgress*.
But if he count'nances them against law by his own example, what
havock it makes both in Religion and vertue among the people may
be gueest by the anger it brought upon *Phobin* and *Phineas*, not to be
appeas'd with sacrifice nor offering for ever. If the Law be silent to declare
sin, the people must needs generally goe astray, for the Apostle him-
selfe saith, *he had not knowne lust but by the Law*, and surely such a Na-
tion seems not to be under the illuminating guidance of Gods law, but
under the horrible doom rather of such as despise the Gospel, *he that*
is filthy let him be filthy still. But where the Law it selfe gives a warrant
for sin, I know not what condition of misery to imagin miserable
enough for such a people, unless that portion of the wicked, or ra-
ther of the damned, on whom God threatens in 11. Psalm, *to ruin*
snarves: but that questionlesse cannot be by any Law, which the Apo-
stle saith is a ministry ordain'd of God unto our good, and not so many

waies and in so high a degree to our destruction, as we have now bin graduating. And this is all the good can come to the person licenc'd in his hardnesse of heart.

I am next to mention that which because it is a ground in divinity, Rom. 3. will save the labour of demonstrating, unlesse her giv'n axioms be more doubted then in other Arts (although it be no lesse firm in the precepts of Philosophy) that a thing unlawfull can for no good whatsoever be done, much lesse allow'd by a positive law. And this is the matter why Interpreters upon that passage in *Hosea* will not consent it to be a true story, that the Prophet took a Harlot to wife, because God being a pure Spirit could not command a thing repugnant to his own nature, no not for so good an end as to exhibit more to the life a wholsom and perhaps a converting parable to many an Israelite. Yet that he commanded the allowance of adulterous and injurious divorces for hardnes of heart, a reason obscure and in a wrong sense, they can very favourily perswade themselves; so tenacious is the leaven of an old conceit. But they shift it, he permitted only. Yet silence in the Law is consent, and consent is accessory; why then is not the Law being silent, or not active against a crime, accessory to its own conviction, it self judging? For though we should grant, that it approves not, yet it wills; and the Lawyers maxim is, that *she will compell'd is yet she will*. And though *Aristotle* in his Ethicks call this a *mixed action*, yet he concludes it to be voluntary and inexcusable, if it be evill. How justly then might human law and Philosophy rise up against the righteousness of *Moses*, if this be true which our vulgar Divinity Fathers upon him, yea upon God himselfe; not silently and only negatively to permit, but in his law to divulge a written and generall priviledge to commit and persist in unlawfull divorces with a high hand, with security and no ill fame: for this is more then permitting or conniving, this is maintaineing; this is warranting, this is protecting, yea this is doing evill, and such an evil as that reprobate lawgiver did, whose lasting infamy is engraven upon him like a surname *he who made Israel so sin*. This is the lowest pitch contrary to God that publick fraud and injustice can descend.

If it be affirm'd that God as being Lord may doe what he will; yet we must know that God hath not two wills, but one will, much lesse two contrary. If he once will'd adultery should be sinfull, and to be punish't by death, all his omnipotence will not allow him to will the allowance that his holiest people might as it were by his own

own *Antinomie*, or counter-statute live unprov'd in the same fact, as he himfelfe esteem'd it, according to our common explainers. The hidden wayes of his providence we adore & fearch not; but the law is his reveled wil his complete, his evident, and certain will; herein he appears to us as it were in human fhape, enters into cov'nant with us, fwears to keep it, binds himfelfe like a juft lawgiver to his own prefcriptions, gives himfelfe to be underftood by men, judges and is judg'd, meafures and is commenfurate to right reason; cannot require little of us in one cantle of his Law then in another, his legall juftice cannot be fo fickle and fo variable, fometimes like a devouring fire, and by and by connivent in the embers, or, if I may fo fay, olcitant and fupine. The vigor of his Law could no more remit, then the hallowed fire on his altar could be let goe out. The Lamps that burnt before him might need fuffing, but the light of his Law never. Of this alfo more beneath, in difcuffing a folution of *Rivins*.

The Jefuits, and that feft among us which is nam'd of *Arminius*, are wont to charge us of making God the author of finne in two degrees efpecially, not to fpeak of his permissions. 1. Becaufe we hold that he hath decreed fome to danmation, and confequently to finne, fay they: Next, becaufe thofe means which are of faving knowledge to others, he makes to them an occafion of greater finne. Yet confidering the perfection wherein man was created, and might have flood; no decree neceffitating his free will, but fubfequent though not in time yet in order to caufes which were in his owne power, they might, methinks be perfwaded to abfolve both God and us. When as the doctrine of *Plato* and *Chryfippus* with their followers the *Academics* and the *Stoics*, who knew not what a consummat and moft adorned *Paradise* was beftow'd upon *Adam* to be the nurfe and guide of his arbitrary happineffe and perfeverance, I mean his native innocence and perfection, which might have kept him from being our true *Epimetheus*, and though they taught of vertue and vice to be both the gift of *divine destiny*, they could yet give reasons not invalid, to juftifie the counfels of God and Fate from the infultity of mortall tongues: That mans own will felf corrupted is the adequat and fufficient caufe of his difobedience befides Fate; as *Homer* alfo wanted not to exprefle both in his *Iliad* and *Odiffei*. And *Manilius* the Poet, although in his fourth book he tells of fome created both to finne and punifhment; yet without murmuring and with an induftrious cheerfulness acquits the *Deity*. They were not ignorant in their hea-
then

then lore, that it is most God-like to punish those who of his creatures became his enemies with the greatest punishment; and they could attain also to think that the greatest, when God himself throws a man furthest from him; which then they held hee did, when he blinded, hard'n'd, and stirr'd up his offenders to finish, and pile up their desperat work since they had undertak'n it. To banish for ever into a locall hell, whether in the aire or in the center, or in that uttermost and bottomlesse gulph of *Chaos*, deeper from holy blisse then the worlds diameter multiply'd, they thought not a punishing so proper and proportionat for God to inflict, as to punish sinne with sinne. Thus were the common sort of Gentiles wont to think without any wry thoughts cast uopn divine go-vernance. And therefore *Cicero* not in his *Tusculan* or *Campanian* retirements among the learned wits of that age; but ev'n in the *Senat* to a mixt auditory (though he were sparing otherwise to broach his Philosophy among Statists and Lawyers) yet as to this point both in his oration against *Piso*, and in that which is about the answers of the Soothsayers against *Clodius*, he declares it publikly as no paradox to common ears, that God cannot punish man more, nor make him more miserable, then still by making him more sinfull. Thus we see how in this controversie the justice of God stood upright ev'n among heathen disputers. But if any one be truly, and not pretendedly zealous for Gods honour, here I call him forth before men and Angels, to use his best and most advised skill, lest God more unavoi- dably then ever yet, and in the guiltiest manner be made the author of sin; if he shall not onely deliver over and incite his enemies by rebuks to sin as a punishment, but shall by patent under his own broad seal, allow his friends whom he would sanctify and save, whom he would unite to himselfe and not dis-joyne, whom he would correct by wholesome chastning, and not punish as hee doth the damned by lewd sinning, if he shall allow these in his Law the perfect rule of his own purest wil, and our most edify'd conscience, the perpetrating of an odious and manifold sin without the least contesting. Tis wonder'd how there can be in God a secret, and a reveal'd will; and yet what wonder, if there be in man two answerable causes. But here there must be two revealed wills grappling in a fraternall warre with one another without any reasonable cause apprehended. This cannot be lesse then to ingraft sin into the substance of the law, which law is to provoke sin by crossing and forbidding, not by complying with it. Nay this is, which I tremble in uttering, to incarnat sin into the un-
punishing

punishing, and well pleas'd will of God. To avoid these dreadfull consequences that tread upon the heels of those allowances to sin, will be a task of farre more difficulty then to appease those minds which perhaps out of a vigilant and wary conscience except against predestination. Thus finally we may conclude, that a Law wholly giving licence cannot upon any good consideration be giv'n to a holy people for hardnesse of heart in the vulgar sense.

CHAP. IV.

That if divorce be no command, no more is marriage. That divorce could be no dispensation: if it were sinfull. The Solution of Rivetus, that God dispense's by some unknown way, ought not so to satisfy a Christian mind.

Others think to evade the matter by not granting any Law of divorce, but onely a dispensation, which is contrary to the words of Christ, who himselfe calls it a Law, *Mark, 10. 5.* or if we speak of a command in the strictest definition, then marriage it selfe is no more a command then divorce, but onely a free permission to him who cannot contain. But as to dispensation I affirm, the same as before of the Law, that it can never be giv'n to the allowance of sin, God cannot give it neither in respect of himselfe, nor in respect of man: not in respect of himselfe, being a most pure essence, the just avenger of sin; neither can he make that cease to be a sinne, which is in it selfe unjust and impure, as all divorces they say were which were not for adultery. Not in respect of man: for then it must be either to his good or to his evil: Not to his good; for how can that be imagin'd any good to a sinner whom nothing but rebuke and due correction can save, to heare the determinate oracle of divine Law louder then any reproof dispensing and providing for the impunity and convenience of sin; to make that doubtfull, or rather lawfull, which the end of the law was to make most evidently hatefull. Nor to the evil of man can a dispence be given; for if the Law were ordain'd unto life *Ro. 7. 10.* how can the same God publish dispences against that Law which must needs be unto death? Absurd and monstrous would that dispence be, if any Judge of Law should give it a man to cut his own throat, or to damne himselfe. Dispence therefore presupposes full pardon, or els it is not a dispence, but a most baneful & bloody mare. And why should God enter covenant with a people to be holy, as the Command is holy, and just, and good, *Ro. 7. 12.* and yet suffer an impure and treacherous dispence to mislead and betray them under the vizard of Law to a legitimate practice of uncleannesse. God is no covenant breaker, he cannot doe this.

Rivers, a diligent and learned Writer, having well weigh'd what hath been written by those founders of dispenſe, and finding the ſmall agreement among them, would fain work himſelf aloof theſe rocks and quickſands, and thinks it beſt to conclude that God certainly did diſpenſe, but by ſome way to us unknown, and ſo to leave it. But to this I oppoſe, that a Chriſtian by no meanes ought reſt himſelf in ſuch an ignorance; whereby ſo many abſurdities will ſtrait reflect both againſt the purity, juſtice, and wiſdome of God, the end alſo both of Law and Goſpel, and the compariſon of them both together. God indeed in ſome wayes of his providence, is high and ſecret paſt finding out: but in the delivery and execution of his Law, eſpecially in the managing of a duty ſo daily and ſo familiar as this is whereof we reaſon, hath plain enough reveal'd himſelf, and requires the obſervance therof not otherwiſe then to the law of nature and of equity imprinted in us ſeems correſpondent. And hee hath taught us to love and to extoll his Lawes, not onely as they are his, but as they are juſt and good to every wiſe and ſober underſtanding. Therefore *Abraham* even to the face of God himſelfe, ſeem'd to doubt of divine juſtice, if it ſhould ſwerve from that irradiation wherewith it had enlighten'd the mind of man, and bound it ſelfe to obſerve its own rule. *With thou deſtroy the righteous with the wicked? That be far from thee; ſhall not the Judge of the earth doe right?* Therby declaring that God hath created a righteousneſſe in right it ſelfe, againſt which he cannot doe. So *David*, *Pſal. 119. The teſtimonies which thou haſt commanded are righteous and very faithfull; thy word is very pure, therefore thy ſervant loveth it.* Not onely then for the authours ſake, but for its owne purity. *He is faithfull*, ſaith *S. Paul*, *he cannot deny himſelfe*; that is, cannot deny his own promiſes, cannot but be true to his own rules. He often pleads with men the uprightneſſe of his ways by their own principles. How ſhould we imitate him elſe to be perfect as he is perfect. If at pleaſure hee can diſpenſe with golden Poetick ages of ſuch pleaſing licence, as in the fabl'd reign of old *Saturn*; And this perhaps before the Law might have ſome covert: but under ſuch an undiſpenſing covenant as *Moses* madewith them, and not to tell us why and wherefore indulgence, cannot give quiet to the breaſt of any intelligent man. We muſt be reſolv'd how the law can be pure and perſpicuous, and yet throw a polluted ſkirt over theſe *Eleanſinian* myſteries, that no man can utter what they mean: worſe in this then the worſt obſcenities of heathen ſuperſtition; for their filthines was hid, but the myſtick reaſon therof known to their Sages: But
this

this Jewish imputed filthinesse was daily and open, but the reason of it is not known to our Divines. We know of no designe the Gospel can have to impose new righteousness upon works, but to remit the old by faith without works, if we mean justifying works: we know no mystery our Saviour could have to lay new bonds upon marriage in the covenant of grace which himselfe had loosn'd to the severity of law. So that *Kronus* may pardon us if we cannot bee contented with his non-solution to remain in such a peck of incertainties and doubts to dangerous and gassy to the fundamentals of our faith.

CHAP. V.

What a Dispensation is.

T Herfore to get some better satisfaction, we must proceed to enquire as diligently as we can, what a dispensation is, which I find to be either properly so call'd, or improperly. Improperly so call'd, is rather a particular and exceptive law absolving and disobliging from a more general command for some just and reasonable cause. As *Numb. 9.* they who were unclean, or in a journey, had leave to keep the passover, in the second moneth, but otherwise ever in the first. As for that in *Leviticus* of marrying the brothers wife, it was a penall statute rather then a dispense; and commands nothing injurious or in it selfe unclean, onely preferres a speciall reason of charitie, before an institutive decencie, and perhaps is meant for life time onely, as is exprest beneath in the prohibition of taking two sisters. What other edict of *Moses*, carrying but the semblance of a Law in any other kind, may beare the name of a dispence, I have not readily to instance. But a dispensation most properly is some particular accident rarely happ'ning and therefore not specify'd in the Law, but left to the decision of charity, ev'n under the bondage of Jewish rites, much more under the liberty of the Gospel. Thus did *David* enter into the house of God, and did eat the Shew bread, he and his followers, which was ceremonially unlawfull. Of such dispensations as these it was that *Verdune* the French Divine so gravely disputed in the Councell of *Trent* against Friar *Adrian*, who held that the Pope might dispence with any thing. *It is a sond perswasion*, saith *Verdune*, *that dispensing is a favour, say it is as good distributive justice, as what is most, and the Priest sins if he give it not: for it is nothing else but a right interpretation of law.* Thus farre that I can learn touching this matter wholsomly decreed. But that God who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, *James 1.* should give out a rule and directory

to sin by, should enact a dispensation as long liv'd as a law wherby to live in priviledg'd adultery for hardnes of heart, and yet this obdurat disease cannot bee conceiv'd how it was the more amended by this unclean remedy, is the most deadly and Scorpion like gift that the enemy of mankind could have given to any miserable sinner, and is rather such a dispence as that was which the serpent gave to our first parents. God gave Quails in his wrath, and Kings in his wrath, yet neither of these things evill in themselves, but that hee whose eyes cannot behold impurity, should in the book of his holy covenant, his most unpassionat law, give licence, and statute for uncontroll'd adultery, although: it goe for the receiv'd opinion, I shall ever dissuade my soul from such a creed, such an indulgence as the shop of Antichrist never sotg'd a baser.

CHAP. VI.

That the Jew had no more right to this supposed dispence, then the Christian hath, and rather not so much.

BUT if we must needs dispence, let us for a while so farre dispence with truth, as to grant that sinne may be dispenc't: yet there will be copious reason found to prove that the Jew had no more right to such a suppos'd indulgence, then the Christian, whether we look at the clear knowledge wherin he liv'd, or the strict performance of works whereto he was bound. Besides visions and prophecies they had the Law of God, vvhich in the Psalmes and Proverbs is chiefly prais'd for surenesse and certainty both easie and perfect to the enlightning of the simple. How could it be so obscure then, or they so sottishly blind in this plain morall and household duty? They had the same precepts about mariage, Christ added nothing to their clearnesse, for that had argu'd them imperfect; hee opens not the Law, but removes the Pharisaick mists rais'd between the law and the peoples eyes: the onely sentence which he addes, *What God hath joyn'd let no man put asunder*, is as obscure as any clause fetcht out of *Genesis*, and hath encreast a yet undecided controversie of *Claudeſtine* mariages. If we examine over all his sayings, we shall find him not so much interpreting the Law with his words, as referring his owne words to be interpreted by the Law, and oftner obscures his mind in short, and vehement, and compact sentences, to blind and puzzle them the more vvho would not understand the Law. The Jewes therefore were as little to be dispenc't with for lack of morall knowledge, as we.

Next, none I think will deny, but that they were as much bound
to

to perform the Law as any Christian. That severe and rigorous knite not sparing the tender fore-skin of any male infant, to carve upon his flesh the mark of that strict and pure covenant wherinto he enter'd, might give us to understand enough against the fancie of dispensing. *S. Paul* testifies that every *circumcis'd man is a debtor to the whole law*, Gal. 5. or els *circumcision is in vain*, Rom. 2. 25. How vain then and how preposterous must it needs be to exact a circumcision of the Flesh from an infant unto an outward signe of purity, and to dispencc an uncircumcision in the soul of a grown man to an inward and reall impurity? How vain again was that law to impose tedious expiations for every slight sinne of ignorance and error, and to priviledge without penance or disturbance an odious crime whether of ignorance or obstinacie? How unjust also inflicting death & extirpation for the mark of circumstantial purities omitted, and proclaiming all honest and liberall indemnity to the act of a substantiall impurenesse committed, making void the covenant that was made against it. Thus if we consider the tenor of the Law, to be circumcis'd and to perform all, not pardoning so much as the scapes of error and ignorance, and compare this with the condition of the Gospel, beleve and be baptiz'd, I suppose it cannot bee long ere we grant that the Jew was bound as strictly to the performance of every duty as was possible, and therefore could not be dispens't with more then the Christian, perhaps not so much.

CHAP. VII.

That the Gospel is a pier to dispencc than the Law: Parvus answer'd.

IF then the Law wil afford no reason vwhy the Jew should be more gently dealt with then the Christian, then surely the Gospel can afford as little vwhy the Christian should be lesse gently dealt with then the Jew. The Gospell indeed exhorts to highest perfection but beares vvith vweakest infirmity more then the Law. Hence those indulgencies, *All cannot receive this saying: Every man hath his proper gift, vvith expresse charges not to so lay on yokes which our fathers could not beare.* The nature of man still is as weak and yet as hard, and that weaknesse and hardnesse as unfit and as unteachable to bee harshly us'd as ever. I but saith *Parvus*, there is a greater portion of Spirit powr'd upon the Gospel, which requires from us perfect obedience. I answer, This does not prove that the law therefore might give allowance to sinne more then the Gospel; and if it vv ere no sin, vvee know it the vvork of the Spirit to mortifie our corrupt desires and

evil concupiscence; but not to root up our naturall affections and disaffections moving to and fro ev'n in vvilest men upon just and necessary reasons vvhich vv ere the true ground of that *Mosaicke* dispensence, and is the utmost extent of our pleading. What is more or lesse perfect vve dispute not, but vvhat is sinne or no sinne; and in that I itill affirm the Law requir'd as perfect obedience as the Gospell: besides that the prime end of the Gospell is not so much to exact our obedience, as to reveal grace and the satisfaction of our disobedience. What is now exacted from us, it is the accusing Law that does it ev'n yet under the Gospell; but cannot bee more extreme to us now, then to the Jewes of old: for the Law ever vv as of vvorks, and the Gospell ever vv as of grace.

Either then the Law by harmlesse and needfull dispences which the Gospell is now made to deny, must have anticipated and exceeded the grace of the Gospell, or els must be found to have giv'n politick and superficial graces without real pardon, saying in general doe this and live, and yet deceiving and damning under hand, with unfound and hollow permissions, which is utterly abhorring from the end of all Law, as hath bin shewd. But if those indulgences were safe and sinles out of tendernes and compassion, as indeed they were, and yet shall be abrogated by the Gospell, then the Law, whose end is by rigor to magnifie grace, shall it self give grace, and pluck a faire plume from the Gospell, instead of hastning us thither, alluring us from it. And whereas the terror of the Law was as a servant to amplifie and illustre the mildnesse of grace; now the unmildnesse of Evangelick grace shall turn servant to declare the grace and mildnesse of the rigorous Law. The Law was harsh to extoll the grace of the Gospell, and now the Gospell by a new affected strictnes of her own, shall extenuate the grace, which her self offers. For by exacting a duty which the Law dispenc't, if we perform it, then is grace diminish't, by how much performance advances, unlesse the Apostle argue wrong: if we perform it not, and perish for not performing, then are the conditions of grace harder then those of rigor. If through Faith and Repentance we perish not, yet grace still remains the lesse, by requiring that which rigor did not require, or at least not so strictly. Thus much therfore to *Parents*, that if the Gospell require perfecter obedience then the Law as a duty, it exalts the Law and debases it self, which is dishonourable to the work of our Redemption. Seeing therfore that all the causes of any allowance that the Jewes might have, remain as well to the Christians, this is a certain rule, that so long

long as the causes remain the allowance ought. And having thus at length enquir'd the truth concerning Law and dispence, their ends, their uses, their limits, and in what manner both Jew and Christian stands liable to, the one, or capable of the other, we may safely conclude, that to affirm the giving of any law, or law-like dispence to sin for hardnesse of heart, is a doctrine of that extravagance from the sage principles of piety, that who so considers thoroughly, cannot but admire how this hath been digested all this while.

CHAP. VIII.

The true sence how Moses suffer'd divorce for hardnesse of heart.

W H A T may we doe then to salve this seeming inconsistency? I must not dissemble that I am confident it can be don no other way then this.

Moses Deut. 24. 1. establisht a grave and prudent Law, full of moral equity, full of due consideration towards nature, that cannot be resisted; a Law consenting with the Laws of wisest men and civilest Nations. That when a man hath married a wife, if it come to passe he cannot love her by reason of some displeasing natural quality or unfitness in her, let him write her a bill of divorce. The intent of which law undoubtedly was this, that if any good and peaceable man should discover some helpes disagreement or dislike either of mind or body, whereby he could not cheerfully perform the duty of a husband without the perpetual dissembling of offence and disturbance to his spirit, rather then to live uncomfortably and unhappily both to himself and to his wife, rather then to continue undertaking a duty which he could not possibly discharge, he might dismisse her whom he could not tolerably and so not conscionably retain. And this law the Spirit of God by the mouth of Salomon, Pro. 30. 21, 23. testifies to be a good and a necessary Law; by granting it that a *bated woman* (for so the hebrew word signifies, rather then odious though it come all to one) *about a hated woman when she is married, is a thing that the earth cannot beare.* What follows then but that the charitable Law must remedy what nature cannot undergoe. Now that many licentious and hard hearted men took hold of this Law to cloak their bad purposes, is nothing strange to beleieve. And these were they, not for whom *Moses* made the Law, God forbid, but whose hardnes of heart taking ill advantage by this Law he held it better to suffer as by accident, where it could not be detected, rather then good men should

should loose their just and lawfull privilege of remedy: Christ therefore having to answer these tempting Pharises, according as his custom was, not meaning to inform their proud ignorance, what *Moses* did in the true intent of the Law, which they had all cited, suppressing the true cause for which *Moses* gave it, and extending it to every slight matter, tells them their own, what *Moses* was forced to suffer by their abuse of his Law. Which is yet more plain if we mark that our Saviour in the fifth of *Matth.* cites not the Law of *Moses*, but the Pharisaical tradition fasly grounded upon that law. And in those other places, *Chap. 19.* and *Mark. 10.* the Pharises cite the Law, but conceale the wise and human reason there exprest, which our Saviour corrects not in them, whose pride deserv'd not his instruction, only returns them what is proper to them; *Moses* *for the hardnesse of your hearts suffer'd you*, that is, such as you to put away your wives; and to you he wrote this precept for that cause, which (so you) must be read with an impression, and understood limitedly of such as cover'd ill purposes under that Law: for it was seasonable that they should hear their own unbounded licence rebukt, but not seasonable for them to hear a good mans requisit liberty explain'd. But as he hath taught better, if we have eares to hear. He himselfe acknowledged it to be a Law, *Mark 10.* and being a law of God, it must have an undoubted end of *chastity*, which may be us'd with a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeined, as was heard: it cannot allow sin but is purposely to resist sin, as by the same chapter to *Timothy* appears. There we learn also that the Law is good, if a man use it lawfully. Out of doubt then there must be a certain good in this Law which *Moses* willingly allow'd; and there might be an unlawfull use made thereof by hypocrits; and that was it which *Moses* unwillingly suffer'd; foreseeing it in general, but not able to discern it in particulars. Christ therefore mentions not here what *Moses* and the Law intended: for good men might know that by many other rules: and the scornfull Pharises were not fit to be told, untill they could imploy that knowledge they had, lesse abusively. Only he acquaints them with what *Moses* by them was put to suffer.

CHAP. IX.

The words of the Institution how to be understood; and of our Saviours answer to his Disciples.

AND to entertain a little their overweening arrogance as best befitted, and to amaze them yet further, because they thought it no hard matter to fulfill the Law, he draws them up to that unseparable institu-

institution which God ordain'd in the beginning before the fall, when man and woman were both perfect, and could have no cause to separate: just as in the same Chap. he stands not to contend with the arrogant young man who boasted his observance of the whole Law, whether he had indeed kept it or not, but skrues him up higher, to a task of that perfection, which no man is bound to imitate. And in like manner that pattern of the first institution he set before the opinionative Pharisees to dazle them and not to bind us. For this is a solid rule, that every command giv'n with a reason, binds our obedience no otherwise then that reason holds. Of this sort was that command in Eden; *Therefore shall a man cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh*: which we see is no absolute command, but with an inference, *Therefore*: the reason then must be first consider'd, that our obedience be not mis-obedience. The first is, for it is not single, because the wife is to the husband *flesh of his flesh*, as in the verse going before. But this reason cannot be sufficient of it self; for why then should he for his wife leave his father and mother, with whom he is farre *more flesh of flesh and bone of bone*, as being made of their substance. And besides it can be but a sorry and ignoble society of life, whose unseparable injunction depends meerly upon flesh and bones. Therefore we must look higher, since Christ himself recalls us to the beginning, and we shall finde that the primitive reason of never divorcing, was that sacred and not vain promise of God to remedy mans loneliness by *making him a meet help for him*, though not now in perfection, as at first, yet still in proportion as things now are. And this is repeated vers. 26 when all other creatures were fitly associated and brought to Adam, as if the divine power had bin in some care and deep thought, because *there was not yet found a help meet for man*. And can we so slightly depreesse the all-wise purpose of a deliberating God, as if his consultation had produc't no other good for man but to joyn him with an accidentall companion of propagation, which his sudden word had already made for every beast: nay a farre lesse good to man it will be found, if she must at all adventures be fasten'd upon him individually. And therefore even plain sense and equity, and, which is above them both, the all-interpreting voice of Charity her self cries loud that this primitive reason, this consulted promise of God *to make a meet help*, is the onely cause that gives authority to this command of not divorcing, to be a command. And it might be further added, that if the true definition of a wife were askt in good earnest, this clause of being a *meet help* would shew it self

to necessary, and so essential in that demonstrative argument, that it might be logically concluded: therefore she who naturally and perpetually is no meet help, can be no wife; which clearly takes away the difficulty of dismissing such a one. If this be not thought enough, I answer yet further: that marriage, unless it mean a fit and tolerable marriage, is not inseparable neither by nature nor institution. Not by nature for then those Mosaic divorces had bin against nature, if separable and inseparable be contraries, as who doubts they be: and what is against nature is against Law, if soundest Philosophy abuse us not: by this reckning *Moses* should bee most unmosaic, that is, most illegal, not to say most unnaturall. Nor is it inseparable by the first institution: for then no second institution in the same Law for so many causes could dissolve it: it being most unworthy a human (as *Plato*'s judgement is in the fourth book of his Lawes) much more a divine Law-giver to write two severall decrees upon the same thing. But what would *Plato* have deem'd if the one of these were good, the other evill to be done? Lastly, suppose it bee inseparable by institution, yet in competition with higher things, as religion and charity in mainest matters, and when the chiefe end is frustrat for which it was ordain'd, as hath been shown, if still it must remain inseparable, it holds a strange and lawlesse propriety from all other works of God under heaven. From these many considerations we may safely gather, that so much of the first institution as our Saviour mentions, for he mentions not all, was but to quell and put to non-plus the tempting Pharises; and to lay open their ignorance and shallow understanding of the Scriptures. For, saith he, *have ye not read that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female, and said, for this cause shall a man cleave to his wife?* which these blind usurpers of *Moses* chair could not gainsay: as if this singlerespect of male and female were sufficient against a thousand inconveniences and mischiefs, to clogge a ratioll creature to his endlesse sorrow unrelinquishably, under the guilefull superscription of his intended solace and comfort. What if they had thus answer'd, Master, if thou mean to make wedlock as inseparable as it was from the beginning, let it be made also a fit society, as God meant it, which we shall soon understand it ought to be, if thou recite the whole reason of the law. Doubtlesse our Saviour had applauded their just answer. For then they had expounded this command of Paradise, even as *Moses* himselfe expounds it by his lawes of divorce, that is, with due and wise regard had to the premises and reasons of the first

command, according to which, without unclean and temporizing permissions he instructs us in this imperfect state what we may lawfully doe about divorce.

But if it be thought that the Disciples offended at the rigour of Christs answer, could yet obtain no mitigation of the former sentence pronounc'd to the Pharises, it may be fully answer'd, that our Saviour continues the same reply to his Disciples, as men leaven'd with the same customary licence, which the Pharises maintain'd; and displeas'd at the removing of a traditionall abuse whereto they had so long not unwillingly bin us'd: it was no time then to contend with their slow and prejudicial belief, in a thing wherein an ordinary measure of light in Scripture, with some attention might afterwards informe them well enough. And yet ere Christ had finish'd this argument, they might have pickt out of his own concluding words, an answer more to their minds, and in effect the same with that which hath been all this while entreating audience. *All men;* said he, *cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given, he that is able to receive it let him receive it.* What saying is this which is left to a mans choice to receive or not receive? What but the married life. was our Saviour then so mild and favourable to the weaknesse of a single man, and is he turn'd on the sudden so rigorous and inexorable to the distresses and extremities of an ill wedded man? Did hee so graciously give leave to change the better single life for the worse married life? Did he open so to us this hazardous and accidentall doore of mariage to shut upon us like the gate of death without retracting or returning, without permitting to change the worst, most insupportable, most unchristian mischance of mariage for, all the mischiefes and sorrowes that can ensue, being an ordinance vvhich was especially giv'n as a cordial and exhilarating cup of solace the better to beare our other crosses and afflictions? questionlesse this were a hardheartednesse of undivoreing, worse then that in the Jewes which they say extorted the allowance from *Moses*, and is utterly dissonant from all the doctrine of our Saviour. After these considerations therefore to take a law out of Paradise giv'n in time of originall perfection, and to take it barely without those just and equall inferences and reasons vvhich mainly establish it, nor so much as admitting those needfull and safe allowances vvhich *Moses* himselfe interprets it to the faine condition of man, argues nothing in us but rascinesse and contempt of those meanes that God left us in his pure and chaste Law vvhich it vvill not be possible

fible for us to perform the strict imposition of this command: or if we strive beyond our strength, vve shall strive to obey it otherwise then God commands it. And lamented experience daily teaches the bitter and vain fruits of this our presumption: forcing men in a thing wherein we are not able to judge either of their strength, or of their sufferance. Whom neither one vice nor other by natural addition, but onely marriage ruins, which doubtlesse is not the fault of that ordinance, for God gave it as a blessing. nor alwayes of mans mis-choosing; it being an error above wisdom to prevent, as examples of wisest men so mistaken manifest: it is the fault therefore of a perverse opinion that will have it continu'd in despite of nature and reason, when indeed it was never truly joyn'd. All those expositors upon the fifth of *Matthew* confesse the Law of *Moses* to be the Law of the Lord wherein no addition or diminution hath place; yet coming to the point of divorce, as if they fear'd not to be call'd least in the kingdom of heav'n, any slight evasion will content them to reconcile those contradictions which they make between Christ and *Moses*, between Christ and Christ.

CHAP. X.

The vain shift of those who make the law of divorce to bee onely the premises of a succeeding law.

SOME will have it no Law, but the granted premises of another Law following, contrary to the words of Christ, *Mark* 10. 5. and all other translations of gravest authority, who render it in form of a Law; agreeable to *Malach* 2. 16. as it is most anciently and modernly expounded. Besides the bill of divorce, and the particular occasion therein mention'd. declares it to bee orderly and legall. And what avails this to make the matter more righteous, if such an adulterous condition shal be mention'd to build a law upon without either punishment, or so much as forbidding; they pretend it is implicitly reprov'd in these words, *Deut.* 24. 4. *after she is defil'd*; but who sees not that this defilement is onely in respect of returning to her former husband after an intermixt marriage; els why was not the defiling condition first forbidd'n, which would have sav'd the labour of this after law; nor is it seemly or piously attributed to the justice of God and his known hatred of sinne, that such a hainous fault as this through all the Law, should be onely wip't with an implicit and oblique touch (which yet is falsly suppos'd) and that his peculiar

peculiar people should be let vvallow in adulterous mariages almost two thousand yeares for vvant of a direct Law to prohibit them; 'tis rather to be confidently assum'd that this vvvas granted to apparent necessities, as being of unquestionable right and reason in the Law of nature, in that it still passles vvithout inhibition, ev'n when greatest cause is giv'n us to expect it should be directly forbiidd'n.

CHAP. XI.

The other slist of saying divorce was permitted by Law, but not approv'd. More of the Institution.

BUT it vvvas not approv'd. So much the vvorse that it vvvas allow'd, as if sin had over-masterd the law of God, to conform her steddly and strait rule to sins crookednesse, vvvhich is impossible. Besides, vvhat needed a positive grant of that vvvhich vvvas not approv'd? it restrain'd no liberty to him that could but use a little fraud, it had bin better silenc't, unlesse it vvvere approv'd in some case or other. but still it was not approv'd. Miserable excusers! He who doth evil that good may come thereby, approves not what he doth, and yet the grand rule forbids him, and counts *his damnation* just if hee doe it. The Sorceresse *Medea* did not approve her owne evill doings, yet lookt not to be excus'd for that; and it is the constant opinion of *Plato* in *Protagoras* and other of his dialogues agreeing with that proverbiall sentence among the *Greeke*s, that no man is wicked willingly; which also the *Peripateticks* doe rather distinguish then deny. What great thank then if any man reputed wise and constant, will neither doe nor permit others under his charge, to doe that which hee approves not, especially in matter of sinne. But for a Judge, but for a Magistrate the Shepheard of his people to surrender up his approbation against law & his own judgment to the obstinacie of his heard, what more un-Iudge-like, more un-Magistrate-like, and in warre more un-commander-like? Twice in a short time it was the undoing of the Roman State, first when *Pompey*, next when *Marcus Brutus* had not magnanimity enough but to make so poore a resignation of what they approv'd, to what the boisterous Tribunes and Souldiers bawld for. Twice it was the saving of two the greatest Common-wealths in the world, of *Athens* by *Themistocles* at the Sea fight of *Salamis*; of *Rome* by *Fabius Maximus* in the *Punick* warre, for that these two matchlesse Generalls had the fortitude at home against the rashnes and the clamours of their own Captains and confederates to withstand the doing or permitting of what they

could not approve in the duty of their great command. Thus farre of civill prudence. But when vve speak of sinne, let us look againe upon the old reverend *Eli*; vvho in his heauey punishment found no difference between the doing and permitting of what he did not approve. If hardnesse of heart in the people may be any excuse, vvhy then is *Pilat* branded through all memory? Hee approv'd not vvhat he did, he openly protested, he vvash't his hands and laboured not a little, ere he vvould yeeld to the hard hearts of a whole people, both Princes and plebeians importuning & tumulting ev'n to the fear of a revolt. Yet is there any will undertake his caute? If therefore *Pilat* for suffering but one act of cruelty against law, though vvith much unwillingnesse testify'd, at the violent demand of a vvhole Nation, shall stand so black upon record to all posterity? Alas for *Moses*! vvhat shall we say for him, while we are taught to beleeeve he suffer'd not one act onely both of cruelty and uncleannesse in one divorce, but made it a plain and lasting law against law vvhereby ten thousand acts accounted both cruell and unclean, might be daily committed, and this vvithout the least suit or petition of the people that wee can read of.

* And can we conceive without vile thoughts, that the majesty and holines of God could endure so many ages to gratifie a stubborn people in the practise of a foul polluting sin, and could he expect they should abstain, he not signifying his mind in a plain command, at such time especially when he was framing their laws and them to all possible perfection? But they were to look back to the first institution, nay rather why was not that individual institution brought out of Paradise, as was that of the Sabbath, and repeated in the body of the Law, that men might have understood it to be a command? for that any sentence that bears the resemblance of a precept, set there so out of place in another world at such a distance from the whole Law, and not once mention'd there, should be an obliging command to us, is very disputable, and perhaps it might be deny'd to be a command vvithout further dispute: however, it commands not absolutely, as hath bin clear'd, but only with reference to that precedent promise of God, which is the very ground of his institution; if that appeare not in some tolerable sort, how can we affirm such a matrimony to be the same which God instituted! In such an accident it will best behove our sobernes to follow rather what moral *Sinai* prescribes equal to our strength, then fondly to think vvithin our strength all that lost Paradise relates.

CHAP. XII.

The third shift of them who esteem it a meer judicial Law. Prov'd again to be a Law of morall equity.

ANother while it shall suffice them, that it was not a moral but a judicial Law, & so was abrogated. Nay rather not abrogated, because judicial: which Law the ministry of Christ came not to deal with. And who put it in mans power to exempt, where Christ speaks in general of not abrogating *the least jot or tittle*, and in special not that of divorce, because it follows among those Laws, which he promis'd expressly not to abrogate, but to vindicate from abusive traditions: which is most evidently to be seen in the 16. of *Luke*, where this caution of not abrogating is inserted immediately, and not otherwise then purposely, when no other point of the Law is toucht, but that of divorce. And if we mark the 31. vers. of *Mat.* the 5. he there cites not the Law of *Moses*, but the licencious Glosse which traduc't the Law; that therefore which he cited, that he abrogated, and not only abrogated but disallow'd and flatly condemn'd, which could not be the Law of *Moses*; for that had bin foulely to the rebuke of his great servant. To abrogate a Law made with Gods allowance, had bin to tell us only that such a Law was now to cease: but to refute it with an ignominious note of civilizing adultery, casts the reproof, which was meant only to the Pharises ev'n upon him who made the Law. But yet if that be judicial which belongs to a civil Court, this Law is lesse judicial then nine of the ten Commandements; for antiquaries affirm that divorces proceeded among the Jews without knowledge of the Magistrate, only with hands and seales under the testimony of some Rabbies to be then present. *Perhaps in a Treatise of Conscience* grants, that what in the judicial Law is of common equity, binds also the Christian. And how to judge of this, prescribes 2. wayes. If wise Nations have enacted the like decree. Or if it maintain the good of family, Church or Common-wealth. This therefore is a pure moral *economical* Law, too hastily imputed of tolerating sin; being rather so clear in nature and reason, that it was left to a mans own arbitrement to be determin'd between God and his own conscience; not only among the Jews, but in every wise nation; the restraint wherof, who is not too thick sighted, may see how hurtfull and distractive it is to the house, the Church and Common-wealth. And that power vvhich Christ never took from the master of family, but rectify'd only to a right and vvery use at home; that power the undiscerning

Canonist hath improperly usurpt into his Court-lect. and bescrib'd vwith a thousand trifling impertinencies, vvhich yet have fill'd the life of man vwith serious trouble and calamity. Yet grant it were of old a judicial Law, it need not be the lesse moral for that, being conversant, as it is, about vertue or vice. And our Saviour disputes not heer the judicature, for that was not his office, but the morality of divorce, whether it be adultery or no; if therefore he touch the law of *Moses* at all, he touches the moral part therof; which is absurd to imagine that the cov'nant of grace should reform the exact and perfect law of works, eternal and immutable; or if he touch not the Law at all, then is not the allowance therof disallow'd to us.

CHAP. XIII.

The ridiculous opinion, that divorce was permitted from the custom in Egypt. That Moses gave not this Law unwillingly. Perkins confesses this Law was not abrogated.

Others are so ridiculous as to allege that this licence of divorcing was giv'n them because they vvere so accustom'd in Egypt. As if an ill custom were to be kept to all posterity; for the dispensation is both universal and of time unlimited, and so indeed no dispensation at all; for the over-dated dispensation of a thing unlawfull, serves for nothing but to encrease hardnes of heart, and makes men but wax more incorrigible, which were a great reproach to be said of any Law or allowance that God should give us. In these opinions it would be more Religion to advise well, lest we make our selves juster then God, by censuring rashly that for sin which his unspotted Law without rebuke allows, and his people without being conscious of displeasing him have us'd. And if we can think so of *Moses*, as that the Jewish obstinacy could compell him to write such impure permissions against the rule of God and his own judgement, doubtles it was his part to have protested publickly what straits he was driv'n to, and to have declar'd his conscience when he gave any Law against his mind; for the Law is the touch-stone of sin and of conscience, must not be intermixt with corrupt indulgences; for then it looses the greatest praise it has, of being certain and infallible, not leading into error, as all the Jews were led by this connivence of *Moses* if it were a connivence. But still they fly back to the primitive institution, and would have us re-enter Paradise against the sword that guards it. Whom I again thus reply to, that the place in *Genesis* contains the description of a fit and perfect marriage, with

an interdict of ever divorcing such a union ; but where nature is discover'd to have never joyn'd indeed, but vehemently seeks to part, it cannot be there conceiv'd that God forbids it ; nay he commands it both in the Law and in the Prophet *Malachy*, which is to be our rule. And *Perkins* upon this chap. of *Matth.* deals plainly , that our Saviour heer confutes not *Moses* Law , but the false glosses that depray'd the Law ; which being true, *Perkins* must needs grant, that something then is left to that law which Christ found no fault with ; and what can that be but the conscionable use of such liberty as the plain words import ? So that by his owne inference, Christ did not absolutely intend to restrain all divorces to the onely cause of adultery. This therefore is the true scope of our Saviours vwill, that he who looks upon the law concerning divorce , should look also back upon the first institution, that he may endeavour what is perfectest : and he that looks upon the institution should not refuse as sinfull and unlawfull those allowances which God affords him in his following Law, lest he make himselfe purer then hismaker ; and presuming above strength, slip into temptations irrecoverably. For this is wonderfull , that in all those decrees concerning mariage , God should never once mention the prime institution to dissuade them from divorcing ; and that he should forbid smaller sinnes as opposite to the hardnesse of their hearts, and let this adulterous matter of divorce passe ever unrepov'd.

This is also to bee marvell'd , that seeing Christ did not condemn whatever it was that *Moses* suffer'd , and that therupon the Christian Magistrate permits usury and open stews, and here with us adultery to bee so slightly punisht , which was punisht by death to these hard hearted Jewes , why wee should strain thus at the matter of divorce , which may stand so much with charity to permit, and make no scruple to allow usury esteem'd to be so much against charity. But this it is to embroile our selves against the righteous and all-wise Judgements and Statutes of God ; which are not variable and contrarious , as we would make them , one while permitting and another while forbidding , but are most constant and most harmonious each to other. For how can the uncorrupt and majestic Law of God, bearing in her hand the wages of life and death , harbour such a repugnance within hertelfe ; as to require an unexempted and impartiall obedience to all her decrees, either from us or from our Mediator, and yet debate her selfe to faulter so

many ages with circumcis'd adulteries, by unclean and flubbering permissions.

CHAP. XIV.

That Beza's opinion of regulating sinne by Apostolick law, cannot be found,

YET *Beza's* opinion is that a politick Law, but what politick Law I know not, unless one of *Machiavel's*, may regulate sin; may ear indeed, I grant, vvith imperfection for a time, as those Canons of the Apostles did in ceremoniall things: but as for sinne, the essence of it cannot consist vvith rule; and if the law fall to regulate sinne, and not to take it utterly away, it necessarily confirms and establishes sinne. To make a regularity of sinne by law, either the law must straiten sinne into no sinne, or sinne must crook the law into no law. The Judiciall law can serve to no other end then to bee the protector and champion of Religion and honest civility, as is set down plainly, *Rom. 13.* and is but the arm of morall law, vvhich can no more be separate from justice then justice from vertue: their office also in a different manner steers the same cours; the one teaches vvhat is good by precept, the other unteaches what is bad by punishment. But if vve give way to politick dispensations of lewd uncleanness, the first good consequence of such a relaxe vvill bee the justifying of Papal stewes, joyn'd with a toleration of epidemick vvhordom. Justice must revolt from the end of her authority, and become the patron of that vvherof she vvvas created the punisher. The example of usury vvhich is commonly alleg'd, makes against the allegation vvhich it brings, as I touch'd before. Besides that usury, so much as is permitted by the Magistrate and demanded vvith common equity, is neither against the vvord of God, nor the rule of charity, as hath been often discuss'd by men of eminent learning and iudgement. There must be therefore some other example found out to shew us wherein civill policy may with warrant from God settle wickednes by law, and make that lawfull which is lawlesse. Although I doubt not but upon deeper consideration, that which is true in Physick, will be found as true in policie: that as of bad pulses those that beat most in order, are much worse then those that keep the most inordinat circuit, so of popular vices those that may bee committed legally, will be more pernicious then those that are left to their own cours at perill, not under a stinted priviledge to sin orderly and regularly, which is an implicit contradiction, but under due and fearlesse execution of punishment.

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The political law, since it cannot regulate vice, is to restrain it, by using all means to root it out: but if it suffer the weed to grow up to any pleasurable or contented height upon what pretext soever, it fattens the root, it prunes and dresses vice, as if it were a good plant. Let no man doubt therefore to affirm that it is not so hurtfull or dishonourable to a Common wealth, nor so much to the hardning of hearts, when those worse faults pretended to be fear'd are committed, by who so dares under strict and executed penalty, as when those lesse faults tolerated for fear of greater harden their faces, not their hearts only, under the protection of publick authority. For what lesse indignity were this, then as if Justice her self the Queen of vertues, descending from her scepter'd royalty, instead of conquering should compound and treat with sin her eternal adversary and rebel, upon ignoble terms. Or as if the judicial Law were like that untrusty steward in the Gospel and instead of calling in the debts of his moral master, should give out suble and sly acquittances to keep him self from begging. Or let us person him like some wretched itinerary Judge, who to gratifie his delinquents before him, would let them bately break his head, lest they should pull him from the bench, and throw him over the barre. Unlesse we had rather think both moral and judicial full of malice and deadly purpose conspir'd to let the debtor Israelite the seed of *Abraham* run on upon a bankrupt score, flatter'd with insufficient and insuaring discharges, that so he might be hal'd to a more cruel forfeit for all the indulgent arrears which those judicial acquitments had ingaged him in. No no, this cannot be, that the Law whose integrity and faithfulness is next to God, should be either the shamelesse broker of our impunities, or the intended instrument of our destruction. The method of holy correction such as became the Common wealth of *Israel*, is not to bribe sin with sin, to capitulate and hire out one crime with another: but with more noble and gracefull severity then *Pomilius* the Roman legal us'd with *Antiochus*, to limit and level out the direct way from vice to vertu, with straitest and exactest lines on either side, not winding, or indenting so much as to the right hand of fair pretences. Violence indeed and insurrection may force the Law to suffer what it cannot mend: but to write a decree in allowance of sin, as soon can the hand of justice rot off. Let this be ever concluded as a truth that will outlive the faith of those that seek to bear it down.

CHAP. XV.

That divorce was not given for wives only, as Beza and Paræus write. More of the Institution.

LAstly, if divorce were granted, as *Beza* and others say, not for men but to release afflicted wives; certainly it is not only a dispensation, but a most mercifull Law: and why it should not yet be in force, being wholly as needfull, I know not what can be in cause but senselesse cruelty. But yet to say divorce was granted for relief of wives, rather then of husbands, is but weakly conjectur'd, and is manifest the extreme shift of a huddl'd exposition. Whenas it could not be found how hardnesse of heart should be less'n'd by liberty of divorce, a fancy was devis'd to hide the flaw by commenting that divorce was permitted only for the help of wives. Palpably uxorious! Who can be ignorant that woman was created for man, and not man for woman; and that a husband may be injur'd as insufferably in marriage as a wife. What an injury is it after wedlock not to be belov'd, what to be slighted, what to be contended with in point of house-rule who shall be the head, not for any parity of wisdom, for that were something reasonable, but out of a female pride. *I suffer not* saith *S. Paul* the woman to usurp authority over the man. If the Apostle could not suffer it, into what mould is he mortify'd that can? *Salomon* saith that a bad wife is to her husband, as *riotnesse* to his bones, a continual dropping: better dwell in a corner of the house top, or in the wilderness then with such a one. Who so bideeth her bideeth the wind, and one of the four mischiefs that the earth cannot bear. If the Spirit of God wrote such aggravations as these, and as may be guest by these similitudes, counsels the man rather to divorce then to live with such a colleague, and yet on the other side expresses nothing of the wives suffering with a bad husband; is it not most likely that God in his Law had more pity towards man thus wedlockt, then towards the woman that was created for another. The same Spirit relates to us the course which the *Medes* and *Persians* took by occasion of *Vasthi*, whose meerdial to come at her husbands sending lost her the being *Queen* any longer, and set up a vvholsom Law, that every man should beare rule in his own house. And the divine relater shews us not the least signe of disliking vvhath was done; how should he? if *Moses* long before was nothing lesse mindfull of the honour and preeminence due to man. So that to say divorce was granted for vvhoman rather then man, was but fondly invented. Esteeming therefore to have asserted thus an injur'd

jur'd law of *Moses* from the unwarranted and guilty name of a dispensation, to be again a most equall and requisite law, we have the vword of Christ himself, that he came not to alter the least tittle of it; and signifies no small displeasure against him that shall teach to do so. On which relying, I shall not much waver to affirm, that thole words which are made to intimate, as if they forbad all divorce but for adultery (though *Moses* have constituted otherwise) those words tak'n circumscriptly, vvithout regard to any precedent law of *Moses* or attestation of Christ himself, or vvithout care to preserve those his fundamental and superiour laws of nature and charity, to vvhich all other ordinances give up their seals, are as much against plain equity, and the mercy of religion, as those vvords of *Take, eat, this is my body*, elementally understood, are against nature and sense.

And surely the restoring of this degraded law, hath well recom-penc'd the diligence was us'd, by enlightning us further to find out wherfore Christ took off the Pharisees from alleging the law, and referr'd them to the first institution, not condemning, altering, or abolishing this precept of divorce, which is plainly moral, for that were against his truth, his promise, and his prophetick office; but knowing how fallaciously they had cited, and conceal'd the particular and natural reason of the Law, that they might justify any forward reason of their own, he lets goe that sophistry unconvinc't, for that had bin to teach them else, which his purpose was not. And since they had tak'n a liberry which the law gave not, he amuses and repells their tempting pride with a perfection of Paradise, which the law requir'd not; not therby to oblige our performance to that wherto the law never enjoyn'd the fal'n estate of man, for if the first institution must make wedlock, what ever happen, inseparable to us, it must make it also as perfect, as meetly helpfull, and as comfortable, as God promis'd it should be, at least in some degree; otherwise it is not equal or proportionable to the strength of man, that he should be reduc't into such indissoluble bonds to his assured misery, if all the other conditions of that cov'nant be manifestly alter'd.

CHAP. XVI.

How to be understood that they must be one flesh: and how that those whom God hath joyn'd man should not sunder.

NExt he saith, *they must be one flesh*, which, when all conjecturing is don, will be found to import no more but to make legitimate and

and good the carnal act, which els might seem to have something of pollution in it: And inferrs thus much over, that the fit union of their souls be such as may even incorporate them to love and amity; but that can never be where no correspondence is of the minde; nay instead of being one flesh, they will be rather two carcases chain'd unnaturally together; or as it may happ'n, a living soule bound to a dead corps, a punishment too like that inflicted by the tyrant *Maxentius*; so little worthy to be receiv'd as that remedy of loneliness which God meant us. Since we know it is not the joyning of another body will remove loneliness, but the uniting of another compliable mind; and that it is no blessing but a torment, nay a base and brutish condition to be one flesh, unlesse where nature can in some measure fix a unity of disposition. The meaning therefore of these words, *For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave to his wife*, was first to shew us the dear affection which naturally grows in every not unnatural marriage, ev'n to the leaving of parents, or other familiarity whatsoever: next, it justifies a man in so doing, that nothing is done undutifully to father or mother. But he that should be here sternly commanded to cleave to his error, a disposition which to his he finds will never cement a quoridian of sorrow and discontent in his house, let us be excus'd to pause a little and bethink us every way round ere wee lay such a flat solecisme upon the gracious, and certainly not inexorable, not rushlesse and flinty ordinance of marriage. For if the meaning of these words must be thus blockt up within their owne letters from all equity and fair deduction, they will serve then well indeed their turn, who affirme divorce to have been granted onely for wives; whenas we see no word of this text bindes women, but men onely, what it binds. No marvell then if *Salomish* sister to *Herod*, sent a writ of ease to *Cotabarus* her husband; which, as *Josephus* there attests, was lawfull onely to men. No marvell though *Placidia* the sister of *Honorius* threat'n'd the like to Earle *Constantinus*, for a triviall cause as *Photinus* relates from *Olympiodorus*. No marvell any thing if letters must be turn'd into palisadoes to stake out all requisite sense from entering to their due enlargement.

Lastly, Christ himselfe tells who should not bee put asunder, namely those whom God hath joyn'd. A plain solution of this great controversie if men would but use their eyes; for when is it that God may bee said to joyn, when the parties and their friends consent? No surely, for that may concur to lewdest ends. Or is it when

when Church rites are finish'd? Neither; for the efficacy of those depends upon the presuppos'd fitnessse of either party. Perhaps, after carnall knowledge? Least of all; for that may joyn persons whom neither law nor nature dares ioyn: tis left, that only then, when the minds are fitly dispos'd. and enabl'd to maintain a cheerfull conversation to the solace and love of each other, according as God intended and promis'd in the very first foundation of matrimony, *I will make him a help meet for him*; for surely what God intended and promis'd, that onely can be thought to bee his ioyning, and not the contrary. So likewise the Apostle witnesseth, *1 Cor. 7. 15.* that in marriage *God hath call'd us to peace*; And doubtlesse in what respect hee hath call'd us to marriage, in that also hee hath ioyn'd us. The rest whom either disproportion or deadnesse of spirit, or something distastfull and averse in the immutable beat of nature renders coniugall, error may have ioyn'd, but God never ioyn'd against the meaning of his own ordinance. And if he ioynd them not, then is there no power above their own consent to hinder them from unioyning, when they cannot reap the sobrest ends of being together in any tolerable sort. Neither can it be said properly that such twain were ever divorc'd, but onely parted from each other, as two persons unconiunctive and unmarriageable together. But if, whom God hath made a fit help, frowardnesse or private iniuries hath made unfit, that being the secret of marriage God can better iudge then man, neither is man indeed fit or able to decide this matter; however it be, undoubtedly a peacefull divorce is a lesse evill, and lesse in scandall then a hatefull hardhearted and destructive continuance of marriage in the iudgement of Moses and of Christ, that iustifies him in choosing the lesse evill, which if it were an honest and civill prudence in the law, what is there in the Gospell forbidding such a kind of legall wisdom, though wee should admit the common Expositors.

CHAP. XVII.

The sentence of Christ concerning divorce how to be expounded. What Grotius hath observ'd. Other additions.

HAVING thus unfolded those ambiguous reasons, vvhherewith Christ, as his wont was, gave to the Pharises that came to sound him, such an answer as they deserv'd, it vwill not be uneasie to explain the sentence it selfe that now follows; *Whoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery.* First therefore I vwill set down vvhath is observ'd by Grotius upon this

this point, a man of generall learning. Next I produce vvhhat mine own thoughts gave me, before I had seen his annotations. *Origen*, saith he, notes that Christ nam'd adultery rather as one example of other like cases, then as one only exception. And that it is frequent, not only in human but in diuine Laws, to expresse one kind of fact, wherby other causes of like nature may have the like plea: as *Ex. od. 21. 18, 19, 20. 26. Deut. 19. 5.* And from the maxims of civil Law he shewsthat ev'n in sharpest penal laws, the same reason hath the same right: and in gentler Lawes, that from like causes to like the Law interprets rightly. But it may be objected, saith hee, that nothing destroyes the end of wedlock so much as adultery. To which he answers, that marriage was not ordaind only for copulation, but for mutuall help and comfort of life; and if we mark diligently the nature of our Saviours commands, wee shall finde that both their beginning and their end consists in charity: whose will is that wee should be good to others, as that wee bee not cruell to our selves. And hence it appeares why *Marke*, and *Luke*, and *S. Paul* to the *Cor.* mentioning this precept of Christ, adde no exception: because exceptions that arise from naturall equity, are included silently under generall terms: it would bee consider'd therefore whether the same equity may not have place in other cases lesse frequent. Thus farre he. From hence, is what I adde: first, that this saying of Christ, as it is usually expounded, can be no law at all, that a man for no cause should separate but for adultery, except it bee a supernaturall law, not binding us as we now are had it bin the law of nature, either the Jews, or some other wise and civill nation would have prest it: or let it be so; yet that law *Deut. 24. 1.* wherby a man hath leave to part, when as for just and naturall cause discover'd he cannot love, is a law ancienter, and deeper ingrav'n in blameles nature then the other: therefore the inspired Law-giver Moses took care that this should be specify'd and allow'd: the other he let vanish in silence, not once repeated in the volume of his law, ev'n as the reason of it vanisht with Paradise. Secondly, this can be no new command, for the Gospel enjoyns no new morality, save only the infinit enlargement of charity, which in this respect is call'd the new commandment by *S. Iohn*; as being the accomplishment of every command. Thirdly, It is no command of perfection further then it partakes of charity, which is the bond of perfection. Those commands therefore which compell us to self cruelty above our strength, so hardly will help forward to perfection, that they hinder and set backward in all the

the common rudiments of Christianity; as was prov'd. It being thus clear, that the words of Christ can be no kind of command, as they are vulgarly tak'n, we shall now see in what sense they may be a command, and that an excellent one, the same with that of *Moses*, and no other. *Moses* had granted that only for a natural annoyance, defect, or dislike, whether in body or mind (for so the Hebrew words plainly note) which a man could not force himselfe to live with, he might give a bill of divorce, thereby forbidding any other cause wherein amendment or reconciliation might have place. This Law the Pharisees depraving, extended to any slight contentious cause whatsoever. Christ therefore seeing where they halted, urges the negative part of that law, which is necessarily understood (for the determinate permission of *Moses* binds them from further licence) and checking their supercilious drift, declares that no accidental, temporary, or reconcilable offence, except fornication, can justify a divorce: he touches not here those natural and perpetual hindrances of society, whether in body or mind, which are not to be remov'd: for such, as they are aptest to cause an unchangable offence, so are they not capable of reconcilment because not of amendment; they do not break indeed, but they annihilate the bands of marriage more then adultery. For that fault committed argues not alwaies a hatred either natural or incidental against whom it is committed; neither does it inferre a disabillity of all future helpfulnes, or loyalty, or loving agreement, being once past, and pardon'd, where it can be pardon'd: but that which naturally distasts, and *findes not favour in the eyes* of matrimony, can never be conceal'd, never appeas'd, never intermitted, but proves a perpetuall nullity of love and contentment, a solitude, and dead vacation of all acceptable conversing. *Moses* therefore permits divorce, but in cases only that have no hands to joyn, and more need separating then adultery. Christ forbids it, but in matters only that may accord, and those lesse then fornication. Thus is *Moses* Law here plainly confirm'd, and those causes which he permitted, not a jot gainsaid. And that this is the true meaning of this place, I prove also by no lesse an Author then *S. Paul* himself, *1 Cor. 7. 10, 11.* upon which text Interpreters agree, that the Apostle only repeats the precept of Christ: where while he speaks of *the wives reconcilment to her husband*, he puts it out of controversie, that our Saviour meant chiefly matters of strife and reconcilment; of which sort he would not that any difference should be the occasion of divorce, except fornication. And that we may learn beter how to value

a grave and prudent law of *Moses*, and how unadvisedly we smatter with our lips, when we talk of Christs abolishing any judicial Law of his great Father, except in some circumstances which are judicial rather then judicial, and need no abolishing, but cease of themselves, I say again, that this recited Law of *Moses* contains a cause of divorce greater beyond compare then that for adultery; and who so cannot conceive it, errs, and wrongs exceedingly a law of deep wisdom, for want of well fadoming. For let him mark, no man urges the just divorcing of adultery, as it is a sin, but as it is an injury to marriage; and though it be but once committed and that without malice, whether through importunity or opportunity, the Gospel does not therefore dissuade him who would therefore divorce; but that natural hatred, whenever it arises is a greater evil in marriage, then the accident of adultery, a greater defrauding, a greater injustice, and yet not blamable, he who understands not after all this representing, I doubt his will like a hard spleen draws faster then his understanding can well sanguifie. Nor did that man ever know, or feel what it is to love truly, nor ever yet comprehend in his thoughts what the true intent of marriage is. And this also will be somewhat above his reach, but yet no lesse a truth for lack of his perspective, that as no man apprehends what vice is, so well as he who is truly vertuous, no man knows hell, like him who converses most in heav'n. So there is none that can estimate the evil and the affliction of a natural hatred in matrimony, unless he have a soul gentle enough, and spacious enough to contemplate what is true love.

And the reason why men so disesteem this wise-judging Law of God, and count hate, or *the not finding of favour*, as it is there term'd, a humorous a dishonest and slight cause of divorce, is because themselves apprehend so little reason of what true concord is: for if they did, they would be juster in their ballancing between natural hatred and casuall adultery; this being but a transient injury, and soon amended. I mean as to the party against whom the trespassie is: but that other being an unspeakable and unremitting sorrow and offence, wherof no amends can be made no cure, no ceasing but by divorce, which like a divine touch in one moment heals all; and like the word of a God, in one instant hushes outrageous tempests into a sudden stilnesse and peacefull calm. Yet all this so great a good of Gods own enlarging to us, is by the hard rains of them that sit us, wholly diverted and imbezeld from us. Maligners of mankind! But who hath taught you to mangle thus, and make more gashes in
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the miseries of a blamelesse creature, with the leaden daggers of your literall decrees, to whose ease you cannot adde the tittle of one small atome, but by letting alone your unwholsome Surgery. As for such as thinke wandring concupiscence to bee here newly and more precisely forbid'n, then it was before, if the Apostle can convince them; we know that we are to *know* *lust by the Law*, and not by any new discovery of the Gospel. The Law of *Moses* knew what it permitted, and the Gospel knew what it forbid; he that under a peevish conceit of debarring concupiscence shall go about to make a novice of *Moses*, (not to say a worse thing for reverence sake,) and such a one of God himselfe as is a horror to think, to binde our Saviour in the default of a down-right promise breaking, and to binde the disunions of complaining nature in chains together, and curb them with a canon bit, tis he that commits all the whordom and adultery, which himselfe adjudges, besides the former guilt so manifold, that lies upon him. And if none of these considerations with all their wait and gravity can avail to the dispossessing him of his pretious literalism, let some one or other entreat him but to read on in the same 10. of *Matth.* till he come to that place that sayes *Some make themselves Eunuchs for the kingdome of heav'n's sake*. And if then he please to make use of *Origens* knife, he may doe well to be his own carver.

CHAP. XVIII.

Whether the words of our Saviour be rightly expounded only of actuall fornication to be the cause of divorce. The opinion of Grotius with other reasons.

BUT because we know that Christ never gave a judicall law, and that the word *fornication* is variously significant in Scripture it will be much right done to our Saviours words, to consider diligently, whether it bee meant heer, that nothing but actuall fornication, prov'd by witnes can warrant a divorce, for so our canon law judges. Nevertheless, as I find that *Grotius* on this place hath observ'd, the Christian Emperours, *Theodosius* the second, and *Justinian*, men of high wisdom and reputed piety, decreed it to be a divorfive fornication, if the wife attempted either against the knowledge, or obstinately against the will of her husband, such things as gave open suspicion of adulterizing: as the wilfull haunting of feasts, and invitations with men not of her neer kindred th: lying out of her house without probable cause, the frequenting of Theaters against her husbands mind, her endeavour to prevent, or destroy conception. Hence that of *Ierom*, *Where fornication is suspected, the wife may lawfully*

be divorced; not that every motion of a jealous mind should be regarded, but that it should not be exacted to prove all things by the visibility of Law witnessing, or els to hood-wink the mind; for the law is not able to judge of these things but by the rule of equity, and by permitting a wife man to walke the middle-way of a prudent circumspection, neither wretchedly jealous, nor stupidly and tamely patient. To this purpose hath *Grotius* in his notes, He shews also that fornication is tak'n in Scripture for such a continual headstrong behaviour, as tends to plain contempt of the husband: and proves it out of *Judges* 19. 2. where the Levites wife is said to have playd the whoor against him; which *Josephus* and the *Septuagint*, with the *Chaldean*, interpret only of stubbornnesse and rebellion against her husband: and to this I adde that *Kimebi* and the two other Rabbies who glosse the text, are in the same opinion. *Ben Gersom* reasons that had it bin whoordom a Jew and a Levite would have disdain'd to fetch her again. And this I shall contribute, that had it been whoordom, she would have chosen any other place to run to, then to her fathers house, it being so infamous for an hebrew woman to play the harlot and so opprobrious to the parents. Fornication then in this place of the *Judges* is understood for stubborn disedecience against the husband, and not for adultery. A sin of that sudden activity, as to be already committed, when no more is done, but onely lookt unchastly: which yet I should be loath to judge worthy a divorce, though in our Saviours language it bee call'd adultery. Nevertheless when palpable and frequent signes are giv'n, the law of God, *Numb.* 5. to us gave way to the jealousy of man, as that the woman set before the Sanctuary with her head uncover'd, was adjurd by the Priest to swear whether she were false or no; and constrain'd to drink that bitter water with an undoubted curse of rottennesse and sympathy to follow, unlesse she were innocent. And the jealous man had not bin guiltles before God, as seems by the last verse, if having such a suspition in his head, he should neglect this triall; which if to this day it be not to be us'd, or be thought as uncertaine of eff'ct, as our antiquated law of *Ordaliu*m, yet all equity will judge that many adulterous demeanors which are of lewd suspition and example, may be held sufficient to incurre a divorce; though the act it selfe hath not been prov'd. And seeing the generosity of our Nation is so, as to account no reproach more abominable, then to bee nicknam'd the husband of an adulteresse, that our law should not bee as ample as the law of God to vindicate a man from that ignoble

suffe.

sufferance, is our barbarous unskilfulnesse, not considering that the law should be exasperated according to our estimation of the injury. And if it must be suffer'd till the act bee visibly prov'd, *Salomon* himselfe whose iudgement wil be granted to surpass the acutenesse of any Canonist, confesses *Pro.* 30. 19, 29. that for the act of adultery it is as difficult to be found as the track of an Eagle in the aire, or the way of a ship in the Sea: so that a man may be put to unmanly indignities ere it be found out. This therefore may be enough to inform us, that divorlive adultery is not limited by our Saviour to the utmost act, and that to be attested alwayes by eye witness, but may bee extended also to divers obvious actions, which either plainly lead to adultery, or give such presumption wherby sensible men may suspect the deed to bee already done. And this the rather may bee thought, in that our Saviour chose to use the word *Fornication* which word is found to signifie other matrimoniall transgressions of main breach to that covenant besides actuall adultery. For that sinne needed not the riddance of divorce, but of death by the law, which was active ev'n till then by the example of the woman tak'n in adultery or if the law had been dormant, our Saviour was more likely to have told them of their neglect, then to have let a capital crime silently scape into a divorce: or if it be said his businesse was not to tell them what was criminall in the civill Courts, but what was sinfull at the barre of conscience, how dare they then having no other grounds then these our Saviours words, draw that into triall of law which both by *Moses* and our Saviour was left to the jurisdiction of conscience? But we take from our Saviour say they, onely that it is adultery, and our Law of it selfe applies the punishment. But by their leave that so argue, the great Law-giver of all the vworld vwho knew best vwhat vvas adultery both to the *Jew* and to the *Gentile*, appointed no such applying; and never likes vwhen mortall men vvill be vainly presuming to out-strip his justice.

CHAP. XIX.

Christ's manner of teaching. S. Paul addes to this matter of divorce without command, to shew the matter to be of equity, not of rigor. That the bondage of a Christian may be as much, and his peace as little in some other matages b sides idalurous: If those arguments therefore be good in that one case, why not in those other: therefore the Apostle himselfe adds in this to his.

THUS at length wee see both by this and by other places, that there is scarce any one saying in the Gospel, but must be read with limitations and distinctions, to bee rightly understood;

for Christ gives no full comments or continued discourses, but as *Demetrius* the Rhetorician phrases it, speaks oft in monosyllables, like a maister, scattering the heavenly grain of his doctrine like pearl here and there, which requires a skiltull and laborious gatherer; who must compare the words he findes, with other precepts, with the end of every ordinance, and with the generall *analogie* of Evangelicall doctrine; otherwise many particular sayings would bee but strange repugnant riddles; and the Church would offend in granting divorce for frigidity, which is not here excepted with adultery, but by them added. And this was it undoubtedly which gave reason to *S. Paul* of his own authority, as hee professes, and without command from the Lord, to enlarge the seeming construction of those places of the Gospell, by adding a case wherein a person deserted, which is something lesse then divorc't, may lawfully marry again. And having declar'd his opinion in one case, hee leaves a further liberty for Christian prudence to determine in cases of like importance: using words so plain as are not to be shifted off, *that a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases*; adding also, that *God hath call'd us to peace in mariage*.

Now if it be plain that a Christian may be brought into unworthy *bondage*, and his religious *peace* not only interrupted now and then, but perpetually and finally hinderd in wedlock by mis-yoking with a diversity of nature as well as of religion, the reasons of *S. Paul* cannot be made special to that one case of infidelity, but are of equal moment to a divorce, wherever Christian liberty and peace are without fault equally obstructed. That the ordinance which God gave to our comfort, may not be pinn'd upon us to our undeserved thraldom; to be coop't up as it were in mockery of wedlock, to a perpetual betrothed loneliness and discontent, if nothing worse ensue. There being nought els of mariage left between such, but a displeasing and forc't remedy against the sting of a bruit desire; which fleshly accustomed without the souls union and commixture of intellectual delight, as it is rather a soiling then a fulfilling of mariage-rites, so is it enough to imbase the mettle of a generous spirit, and sinks him to a low and vulgar pitch of endeavour in all his actions, or, which is worse, leavs him in a despairing plight of abject and hardn'd thoughts: which condition rather then a good man should fall into, a man usefull in the service of God and mankind, Christ himself hath taught us to dispence with the most sacred ordinances of his worship: even for a bodily healing to dispence with that holy and speculative rest

of Sabbath; much more then with the erroneous observance of an ill-knotted marriage, for the sustaining of an overcharg'd faith and perleverance.

CHAP. XX.

The meaning of S. Paul that Charity beleeveeth all things. What is to be said to the licence which is vainly fear'd will grow hereby. What is to those who never have dan prescribing patience in this case. The Papist most severe against divorce: yet most easie to all licence. Of all the miseries in marriage God is to be clear'd, and the fault to be laid on many unjust Laws.

And though bad causes would take licence by this pretext, if that cannot be remedied, upon their conscience be it, who shall so doe. This was the hardnes of heart, and abuse of a good law which Moses was content to suffer, rather then good men should not have it at all to use needfully. And he who to run after one lost sheep, left ninety nine of his own flock at random in the Wildernes, would little perplex his thought for the obduring of nine hunder'd and ninety such as will daily take worie liberties, whether they have permission or not. To conclude, as without charity God hath giv'n no commandment to men, so without it, neither can men rightly beleeve any commandment giv'n. For every act of true faith, as well that wherby we beleeve the law, as that wherby we endeavour the law, is wrought in us by charity: according to that in the divine hymne of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 13. *Charity beleeveeth all things*: not as if she were so credulous, which is the exposition hitherto current, for that were a trivial praise; but to teach us that charity is the high governesse of our belief, and that we cannot safely assent to any precept writ'n in the Bible, but as charity commends it to us. Which agrees with that of the same Apostle to the Ephes. 4. 14 15. where he tels us that the way to get a sure undoubted knowledge of things, is to hold that for truth, which accords most with charity. Whose unerring guidance and conduct having follow'd as a loadstarre with all diligence and fidelity in this question, I trust, through the help of that illuminating Spirit which hath favour'd me, to have don no every daies work: in asserting after many ages the words of Christ with other Scriptures of great concernment from burdenson and remorse obscurity, tangl'd with manifold repugnances, to their native lustre and content between each other: heerby also dissolving tedious and Gordian difficulties, which have hitherto molested the Church of God, and are now decided not with the sword of Alexander, but with

with the immaculate hands of charity, to the unspeakable good of Christendome. And let the extreme literatist sit down now and resolve whether this in all necessity be not the due result of our Saviours words: or if he persist to be otherwise opinion'd, let him well advise, lest thinking to gripe fast the Gospel, he be found in stead with the canon law in his fist: whose boisterous edicts tyrannizing the blessed ordinance of marriage into the quality of a most unnatural and unchristianly yoke, have giv'n the flesh this advantage to hate it, and turn aside, oft-times unwillingly, to all dissolute uncleanness, even till punishment it self is weary, and overcome by the incredible frequency of trading lust, and uncontroll'd adulteries. Yet men whose Creed is custom, I doubt not but will be still endeavouring to hide the sloth of their own timorous capacities with this pretext, that for all this tis better to endure with patience and silence this affliction which God hath sent. And I agree tis true; if this be exhorted and not enjoyn'd; but withall, it will be wisely don to be as sure as may be, that what mans iniquity hath laid on, be not imputed to Gods sending; least under the colour of an affected patience we detain our selves at the gulphs mouth of many hideous temptations, not to be withstood without proper gifts, which as *Perkins* well notes, God gives not ordinarily, no not to most earnest pray-ers. Therefore we pray, *Lead us not into temptation*, a vain prayer, if having led our selves thither, we love to stay in that perilous condition. God sends remedies, as well as evils; under which he who lies and groans, that may lawfully acquit himselfe, is accessory to his own ruin: nor will it excuse him, though he suffer through a sluggish fearfulness to search thoroughly vvhat is lawfull, for feare of disquieting the secure falsity of an old opinion. Who doubts not but that it may be piously said to him who would dismiss frigidity, bear your trial, take it, as if God would have you live this life of continence: if he exhort this, I hear him as an Angell, though he speak vvithout vvarrant: but if he vvould compell me, I know him for Satan. To him vvho divorces an adulteresse, Piety might say; Pardon her: you may shew much mercy, you may win a soul: yet the law both of God and man leaves it freely to him. For God loves not to plow out the heart of our endeavours vvith over-hard tasks. God delights not to make a drudge of vertue, whose actions must be all elective and unconstrain'd. Forc't vertue is as a bolt overshot, it goes neither forward nor backward; and does no good as it stands. Seeing therefore that neither Scripture nor reason hath laid this un-just

just austeriti upon divorce, we may resolve that nothing else hath wrought it, but that letter-bound servility of the Canon Doctors, supposing marriage to be a Sacrament, and out of the art they have to lay unnecessary burdens upon all men, to make a fair shew in the fleshly obervance of matrimony, though peace and love with all other coniugall respects fare never so ill. And indeed the Papiſts who are the strictest forbidders of divorce, are the easiest libertines to admit of grossest uncleannesse; as if they had a designe by making wedlock a supportlesse yoke, to violate it most, under colour of preserving it most inviolable: and withall delighting, as their myſtery is, to make men the day-labourers of their own afflictions, as if there were such a scarcity of miseries from abroad, that we should be made to melt our choycest home blessings, and coin them into crosses, for want wherby to hold commerce with patience. If any therefore who shall hap to read this discourse, hath been through misadventure ill ingag'd in this contracted evil here complain'd of, and finds the fits and workings of a high impatience frequently upon him, of all those wild words which men in misery think to ease themselves by uttering, let him not op'n his lips against the providence of heav'n, or tax the wayes of God and his divine truth: for they are equal, easie, and not burdentome; nor doe they ever crosse the iust and reasonable desires of men, nor involve this our portion of mortall life, into a necessity of sadnesse and malecontent, by laws commanding over the unreducible *antipathies* of nature sooner or later found: but allow us to remedy and shake off those evils into which human error hath led us through the midst of our best intentions; and to support our incident extremities by that authentick precept of soveran charity; whose grand commission is to doe and to dispose over all the ordinances of God to man; that love & truth may advance each other to everlasting. While we literally superstitious through customary faintnesse of heart, not venturing to pierce with our free thoughts into the full latitude of nature and religion, abandon our selves to serve under the tyranny of usurpt opinions, suffering those ordinances which were allotted to our solace and reviving, to trample over us and hale us into a multitude of sorrowes which God never meant us. And where he set us in a fair allowance of way, with honest liberty and prudence to our guard, we never leave subtilizing and casuisting till we have straitn'd and par'd that liberal path into a razors edge to walk on, between a precipice of unnecessary mischief on either side: and starting at every false Alarum.

we doe not know which way to set a foot forward with manly confidence and Christian resolution, through the confused ringing in our eares of panick scruples and amazements.

CHAP. XXI.

That the matter of divorce is not to be try'd by law, but by conscience, as many other sins are. The Magistrate can only see that the condition of divorce be just and equall. The opinion of Fagius, and the reasons of this assertion.

ANother act of papall encroachment it was, to pluck the power and arbitrement of divorce from the master of family, into whose hands God and the law of all Nations had put it, and Christ so left it, preaching onely to the conscience, and not authorizing a judicall Court to tisse about and divulge the unaccountable and secret reasons of disaffection between man and wite, as a thing most improperly answerable to any such kind of triall. But the Popes of Rome perceiving the great revenue and high authority it would give them ev'n over Princes, to have the iudging and deciding of such a main consequence in the life of man as was divorce, wrought so upon the superstition of those ages, as to dyvert them of that right which God from the beginning had entrusted to the husband: by which meanes they subiected that ancient and naturally domestick prerogative to an externall and unbefitting Judicature. For although differences in divorce about Dowries, Jointures, and the like, besides the punishing of adultery, ought not to passe without referring, if need be, to the Magistrate, yet that the absolute and final hindring of divorce cannot belong to any civil or earthly power, against the will and consent of both parties, or of the husband alone, some reasons will be here urg'd as shall not need to decline the touch. But first I shall recite what hath bin already yeilded by others in favour of this opinion. *Grosius* and many more agree that notwithstanding what Christ spake therein to the conscience, the Magistrate is not therby enjoin'd ought against the preservation of civil peace, of equity, and of convenience. Among these *Fagius* is most remarkable, and gives the same liberty of pronouncing divorce to the Christian Magistrate, as the Mosaick had. *For whatever saith he, Christ spake to the regenerate, the Iudge hath to deal with the vulgar: therefore any through hardnesse of heart will not be a tolerable wife or husband, it will be lawfull as well now as of old to passe the bill of divorce, not by privat, but by publicke authority. Nor doth man separate them*

them then, but God by his Law of divorce giv'n by Moses. What can hinder the Magistrate from so doing, to whose government all our ward things are subject, to separate and remove from perpetual vexation and no small danger, those bodies whose minds are already separate: it being his office to procure peaceable and convenient living in the Common-wealth; and being as certain also, that they so necessarily separated cannot all receive a single life. And thus I observe that our divines doe generally condemn separation of bed and board, without the liberty of second choice: if that therefore in some cases be most purely necessary, as who so blockish to deny, then is this also as needfull. Thus farre by others is already well stept, to inform us that divorce is not a matter of Law but of Charity: if there remain a furlong yet to end the question, these following reasons may serve to gain it with any apprehension not too unlearned, or too wayward. First because oftentimes the causes of seeking divorce reside so deeply in the radical and innocent affections of nature, as is not within the diocese of Law to tamper with. Other relations may aptly enough be held together by a civil and vertuous love. But the duties of man and wife are such as are chiefly conversant in that love, which is most ancient and meerly naturall; whose two prime statutes are to joyn it self to that which is good and acceptable and friendly; and to turn aside and depart from what is disagreeable, displeasing and unlike: of the two this latter is the strongest, and most equal to be regarded: for although a man may often be unjust in seeking that which he loves, yet he can never be unjust or blamable in retiring from his endles trouble and distast, whenas his tarrying can redound to no true content on either side. Hate is of all things the mightiest divider, nay, is division it self. To couple hatred therefore, though wedlock try all her golden links and borrow to her aid all the iron manacles and fetters of Law, it does but seek to twist a rope of sand, which was a task they say that pos'd the divell. And that sluggish feind in hell *Ormus*, whom the Poems tell of, brought his idle cordage to as good effect, which never serv'd to bind with, but to feed the Affe that stood at his elbow. And that the restrictive Law against divorce, attains as little to bind any thing truly in a disjoyned marriage, or to keep it bound, but serves only to feed the ignorance, and definitive impertinence of a doltish Canon, were no absurd allusion. To hinder therefore those deep and serious regresses of nature in a reasonable ioul parting from that mistak'n help which he justly seeks in a person created for him; recollecting himself from an unmeet help which was never meant, and to detain

him by compulsion in such a unpredestin'd misery as this, is in diameter against both nature and institution: but to interpose a jurisdictional power upon the inward and irremediable disposition of man, to command love and sympathy, to forbid dislike against the guiltless instinct of nature, is not within the Province of any Law to reach, and were indeed an uncommodious rudeness, not a just power: for that Law may bandy with nature, and traverse her sage motions, was an error in *Calicles* the Rhetorician, whom *Socrates* from high principles confutes in *Plato's Gorgias*. It therefore divorce may be to natural, and that law and nature are not to goe contrary, hen to forbid divorce compulsively, is not only against nature, but against law. Next it must be remember'd that all law is for some good that maybe frequently attain'd without the admixture of a worle inconvenience; and therefore many grosse faults, as ingratitude and the like, which are too farre within the soul, to be cur'd by constraint of law, are left only to be wrought on by conscience and perswasion. Which made *Aristotle* in the 10th of his *Ethicks* to *Nicomachus*, aim at a kind of division of law into private or perswasive, and publick or compulsive. Hence it is that the law forbidding divorce, never attains to any good end of such prohibition, but rather multiplies evil. For if natures resistlesse sway in love or hate bee once compell'd, it grows carelessse of it selfe vitious, uselesse to friend, unserviceable and ipiridlesse to the Common-wealth. Which *Moses* rightly foresaw, and all wise Law-givers that ever knew man, what kind of creature he was. The Parlaument also and Clergy of England were not ignorant of this, when they consented that *Harry* the eighth might put away his Queen *Anne of Cleve*, whom he could not like after he had been wedded halfe a yeare; unlesse it were that contrary to the proverb, they made a necessity of that which might have been a vertue in them to doe. For even the freedome and eminence of mans creation gives him to be a Law in this matter to himselfe, being the head of the other Sex which was made for him: vvhom therefore though he ought not to injure, yet neither should he be forc't to retain in society to his own overthrow, nor to heare any judge therin above himselfe. It being also an unseemly affront to the sequestr'd and vail'd modesty of that sex, to have her unpleasingnesse and other concealments bandied up and down, and aggravated in open Court by those hir'd masters of tongue-fence. Such uncomely exigences it befell no lesse a Maiesty then *Henry* the eighth to be reduc't to; who finding iust reason in his conscience to forgoe his brothers wife, after

ter many indignities of being deluded, and made a boy of by those his two Cardinall Judges, was constrain'd at last for want of other proof that she had been carnally known by Prince *Archer*, ev'n to uncover the nakednesse of that vertuous Lady, and to recite openly the obscene evidence of his brothers Chamberlain. Yet it pleas'd God to make him see all the tyranny of *Rome*, by discovering this which they exercis'd over divorce; and to make him the beginner of a reformation to this whole Kingdome by first asserting into his familiar power the right of just divorce. Tis true, an adulteresse cannot be sham'd enough by any publick proceeding: but that woman whole honour is not appeach't, is lesse injur'd by a silent dismission, being otherwise not illiberally dealt with, then to endure a clamouring debate of utterlesse things, in a busines of that civill secrecy and difficult discerning, as not to bee over-much question'd by neere friends. Which drew that answer from the greatest and worthiest *Roman* of his time *Paulus Emilius*, being demanded why hee would put away his wife for no visible reason, *This Shoo*, said he, and held it out on his foot; *is a neat shoo, a new shoo, and yet none of you know where it wrings me*: much lesse by the unfamiliar cognisance of a se'd gamester can such a private difference be examin'd, neither ought it.

Again, if Law aim at the firm establishment and preservation of matrimoniall faith, wee know that cannot thrive under violent means, but is the more violated. It is not when two unfortunately met are by the Canon forc't to draw in that yoke an unmercifull dayes work of sorrow till death unharnesse'em. that then the Law keeps mariage most unviolated and unbroke'n: but when the Law takes order that mariage be accountant and responsible to perform that society, whether it be religious, civill, or corporal, which may be conscionably requir'd and claim'd therein, or else to be dissolv'd if it cannot be undergone: This is to make mariage most indissoluble, by making it a just and equall dealer, a performer of those due helps which instituted the covenant, being otherwise a most unjust contract, and no more to be maintain'd under tuition of law, then the vilest fraud, or cheat, or theft that may be committed. But because this is such a secret kind of fraud or theft, as cannot bee discern'd by law, but only by the plaintife himself, therefore to divorce was never counted a politicall or civill offence neither to *Jew* nor *Gentile*, nor by any iudicial inrendment of Christ, further then could be discern'd to transgresse the allowance of *Moses*, which was of necessity so large, that it doth all one as if it sent back the matter unde-

undeterminable at law, and intractable by rough dealing, to have instructions and admonitions bestow'd about it by them whose spirituall office is to adjure and to denounce, and so left to the conscience. The Law can onely appoint the iust and equall conditions of divorce, and is to look how it is an iniury to the divorc't, which in truth it can be none, as a uicer separation; for if she consent, wherein has the Law to right her? or consent not; then is it either iust, and so deserv'd; or if uniuist, such in all likelihood was the divorcer, and to part from an uniuist man is a happinesse, and no iniury to bee lamented. But suppose it be an iniury, the law is not able to amend it, unles she think it other then a miserable redress to return back from whence she was expell'd, or but intreated to be gone, or else to live a part still married without marriage, a married widow. Last, if it be to chaſt'n the divorcer, what Law punishes a deed which is not morall, but natural a deed which cannot certainly be found to be an iniury, or how can it be punisht by prohibiting the divorce, but that the innocent must equally partake both in the shame and in the smart. So that which way soever we look the Law can to no rationall purpose forbid divorce, it can only take care that the conditions of divorce be not iniurious. Thus then we see the trial of law how impertinent it is to this question of divorce, how helplesse next, and then how hurtfull.

CHAP. XXII.

The last Reason, why divorce is not to be restrain'd by Law, it being against the Law of nature and of Nations. The larger proof wherof referr'd to Mr. Seldens Book De iure naturali & gentium. An objection of Paræus answer'd. How it ought to be order'd by the Church. That this will not breed any worse inconvenience nor so bad as is now suffer'd.

THerfore the last reason why it should not be, is the example we have, not only from the noblest and wisest Common-wealths, guided by the clearest light of human knowledge, but also from the divine testimonies of God himself, lawgiving in person to a sanctify'd people. That all this is true, who so desires to know at large with least pains, and expects not heer overlong reherſals of that which is by others already so judiciously gather'd, let him haſt'n to be acquainted with that noble volume written by our learned *Selden*, *Of the law of nature & of Nations*, a work more useful and more worthy to be perus'd, whoſoever studies to be a great man in wisdom, equity, and justice, then all those decretals, and ſumles ſums, which the *Pontifi-*
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cial Clerks have doted on, ever since that unfortunate mother famously sinn'd thrice; and dy'd impenitent of her bringing into the world those two misbegott'n infants, & for ever infants *Lombard & Gratian*, him the compiler of Canon iniquity, tother the *Tabernacle* of scholastic Sophistry, whose overspreading *barbarism* hath not only intus'd their own battardy upon the fruitfullest part of human learning; not only dissipated and dejected the clear light of nature in us, & of nations but hath tainted also the fountains of divine doctrine, & render'd the pure and solid Law of God unbeneficial to us by their calumnious dunceries. Yet this Law which their unskilfulnesse hath made liable to all ignominy, the purity and wisdom of this Law shall be the buckler of our dispute. Liberty of divorce we claim not, we think not but from this Law; the dignity, the faith, the authority therof is now grown among Christians, O astonishment! a labour of no mean difficulty and envy to defend. That it should not be counted a flattering dispence a flattering permission of sin, the bil of adultery a snare, is the expence of all this apology. And all that we solícite is, that it may be suffer'd to stand in the place where God set it amidst the firmament of his holy Laws to shine, as it was wont, upon the weaknesses and errors of men perishing els in the sincerity of their honest purposes: for certain there is no memory of whordoms and adulteries left among us now, when this warranted freedom of Gods own giving is made dangerous and discarded for a scrowle of licence. It must be your suffrages and Votes, O English men, that this exploded decree of God and *Moses* may scape, and come off fair without the censure of a shamefull abrogating: which, if yonder Sun ride sure and mean not to break word with us to morrow, was never yet abrogated by our Saviour. Give sentence, if you please that the frivolous Canon may reverse the infallible judgement of *Moses* and his great director. Or if it be the reformed writers, whose doctrine perswades this rather, their reasons I dare affirm are all silenc't, unlesse it be only this. *Paræus* on the *Corinthians* would prove that hardnes of heart in divorce is no more now to be permitted, but to be amerç't with fine and imprisonment. I am not willing to discover the forgettings of reverend men, yet here I must. What article or clause of the whole new Cov'nant can *Paræus* bring to exasperat the judicial Law, upon any infirmity under the Gospel? (I say infirmity, for if it were the high hand of sin, the Law as little would have endur'd it as the Gospel) it would not stretch to the dividing of an inheritance: it refus'd to condemn adultery, not that these things should not be
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don at Law, but to shew that the Gospel hath not the least influence upon judicial Courts, much lesse to make them sharper, and more heavy; lest of all to arraine before a temporal Judge that which the Law without summons acquitted. But saith he, the law was the time of youth, under violent affections, the Gospel in us is mature age, and ought to subdue affections. True, and so ought the Law too, if they be found inordinat, and not meerly natural and blameles. Next I distinguish that the time of the Law is compar'd to youth, and pillage in respect of the ceremonial part, which led the Jewes as children through corporal and garish rudiments, untill the fulnes of time should reveal to them the higher lessons of faith and redemption, This is not meant of the moral part, therein it soberly concern'd them not to be babies, but to be men in good earnest: the sad and awfull majesty of that Law was not to be jested with; to bring a bearded nonage with lascivious dispensations before that throne, had bin a leud affront, as it is now a grosse mistake. But what discipline is this Paræus to nourish violent affections in youth, by cockring and wanton indulgences, and to chastise them in mature age with a boyish rod of correction. How much more coherent is it to Scripture, that the Law as a strict Schoolmaster should have punisht every trespass without indulgence so banefull to youth, and that the Gospel should now correct that by admonition and reproof only, in free and mature age, which was punisht with stripes in the childhood and bondage of the Law. What therefore it allow'd then so fairly, much lesse is to be whipt now. especially in penal Courts: and if it ought now to trouble the conscience, why did that angry accuser and condemner Law reprove it? So then, neither from *Moses* nor from Christ hath the Magistrate any authority to proceed against it. But what? Shall then the disposal of that power return again to the maister of family? Wherefore not? Since God there put it, and the presumptuous Canon thence bereft it. This only must be provided, that the ancient manner be observ'd in presence of the Minister and other grave selected Elders; who after they shall have admonisht and prest upon him the words of our Saviour, and he shall have protested in the faith of the eternal Gospel, and the hope he has of happy resurrection, that otherwise then thus he cannot doe, and thinks himself, and this his case not contain'd in that prohibition of divorce which Christ pronounc't the matter not being of malice, but of nature, and so not capable of reconciling, to constrain him furdur were to unchristen him, to unman him, to throw the moun-
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tain of *Smai* upon him, with the weight of the whole Law to boot, flat against the liberty and essence of the Gospel, and yet nothing available either to the sanctity of marriage, the good of husband, wife, or children, nothing profitable either to Church or Commonwealth; but hurtfull and pernicious to all these respects. But this will bring in confusion. Yet these cautious mistrusters might consider, that what they thus object, lights not upon this book, but upon that which I engage against them, the book of God, and of *Moses*, with all the wisdom and providence which had forecast the worst of confusion that could succeed, and yet thought fit of such a permission. But let them be of good cheer, it wrought so little disorder among the Jews, that from *Moses* till after the captivity, not one of the Prophets thought it worth rebuking; for that of *Malachy* well lookt into, will appeare to be, not against divorcing, but rather against keeping strange Concubines, to the vexation of their Hebrew wives. If therefore we Christians may be thought as good and tractable as the Jews were, and certainly the prohibitors of divorce presume us to be better, then lesse confusion is to bee fear'd for this among us, then was among them. If wee bee worse, or but as bad, which lamentable examples confirm we are, then have we more, or at least as much need of this permitted law, as they to whom God therefore gave it (as they say) under a harsher covenant. Let not therefore the frailty of man goe on thus inventing needlesse troubles to it self, to groan under the fall imagination of a strictnes never impos'd from above; enjoyning that for duty which is an impossible & vain supererogating. *Be not righteous overmuch*, is the counsell of Ecclesiastes, *why shouldst thou destroy thy selfe?* Let us not be thus over-curious to strain at *atoms*, and yet to stop every vent and cranny of permissive liberty; lest nature wanting those needfull pores, and breathing places which God hath not debar'd our weaknesse, either suddenly break out into some wide rupture of open vice, and frantick heresie, or else inwardly fester with repining and blasphemous thoughts, under an unreasonable and fruitlesse rigor of unwarranted law. Against which evils nothing can more beseech the religion of the Church, or the wisdom of the State, then to consider timely and provide. And in so doing, let them not doubt but they shall vindicate the misreputed honour of God and his great Lawgiver, by suffering him to give his own laws according to the condition of mans nature best known to him, without the unsufferable imputation of dispensing legally with many ages of ratify'd adultery.

tery. They shall recover the misattended words of Christ to the sincerity of their true sence from manifold contradictions, and shall open them with the key of charity. Many helples Christians they shall raise from the depth of sadness and distresse, utterly unfitted, as they are, to serve God or man: many they shall reclaime from obscure and giddy sects, many regain from dissolute and brutish licence, many from desperate hardnes, if ever that were justly pleaded. They shall set free many daughters of Israel, not wanting much of her sad plight *whom Satan had bound eighteen years*. Man they shall restore to his iust dignity, and prerogative in nature, preferring the souls free peace before the promiscuous draining of a carnall rage. Mariage from a perilous hazard and snare, they shall reduce to bee a more certain hav'n and retirement of happy society; when they shall judge according to God and *Moses*, and how not then according to Christ? when they shall judge it more wisdom and goodnes to break that covenant seemingly and keep it really, then by compulsion of law to keep it seemingly, and by compulsion of blameles nature to break it really, at least if it were ever truly joyn'd. The vigor of discipline they may then turn with better successe upon the prostitute loosenes of the times, when men finding in themselves the infirmities of former ages, shall not be constrain'd above the gift of God in them, to unprofitable and impossible observances never requir'd from the civilest, the wisest, the holiest Nations, whose other excellencies in morall vertue they never yet could equal. Last of all, to those whose mind still is to maintain textuall restrictions, wherof the bare sound cannot consist somtimes with humanity, much lesse with charity, I would ever answer by putting them in remembrance of a command above all commands, which they seem to have forgot, and who spake it; in comparison wherof this which they do exalt, is but a petty and subordinate precept. *Let them goe* therefore with whom I am loath to couple them, yet they will needs run into the same blindnes with the Pharises, *let them goe therefore* and consider well what this lesson means, *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice*; for on that *saying all the Law and Prophets depend*, much more the Gospel whose end and excellence is mercy and peace: Or if they cannot learn that, how will they hear this, which yet I shall not doubt to leave with them as a conclusion: That God the Son hath put all other things under his own feet; but his Commandments hee hath left all under the feet of Charity.

The end.

K. Hack

A FAMOUS
VICTORY

OBTAINED,

By { *Sir William Brewerton,*
Sir Thomas Fairfax.
Sir William Fairfax.

IN

A pitcht Battle against the Lord BYRON,
(Chief Commander of the Kings Forces)
at the raising of the Siedge of *Namptwitch.*

TOGETHER,

With a List of all the Commanders that
were slain and taken in the said Fight.

ALSO,

In what estate the Towne of *Namptwitch*
now is, and the miserable condition of the
Enemies Forces in these parts.

Printed according to Order.

LONDON,

Printed by *Bernard Alsop.* Febr. the 24.

1644.

A FAMOUS

VICTORY



With a List of all the
Victories of the British
Fleet, from the
First to the Present
Time, and the
Names of the Commanders
in Chief, and the
Particulars of the
Engagements.

LONDON

Printed by R. DODD, in Pall Mall.

FAMOUS VICTORY
Obtained by Sir **VVILLIAM**
BRERETON, Sir THOMAS
FAIRFAX, and Sir WILLIAM
FAIRFAX:

Against the
Lord BYRON:

Chiefe Commander in the Kings Army.



ALL worthy Sir,
I make no ques-
tion, but you
have heard of
the last defeat
given to Sir Ni-
cholas Byron and
his Sergeant Ma-
jor, and al-
though Sir Wil-
liam Brereton
hath beene much distressed in those partes,
for

for want of supplies; and although the
Cowardlineffe of the Manchester men;
yet since they have gained their lost re-
putation, and stick to us with a great deale
of valour, and at times done great executi-
on upon the enemy. The Lord *Byron* the
Kings Generall, hath beene so terrible un-
to us, and sheweth so little mercy on
those he overcommeth or taketh prisoners,
that some of our forces were unwilling to
venture on any designe, where *Biron* was;
but since thanks be to God, our valiant
Leaders, Sir *William Btereton*, Sir *Tho-*
mas Fairfax, and Sir *William Fairfax*,
and Colonell *Mitten*, have done so worthy
good services, that belcive from me; our
Towne of *Namptwich* is for certaine set
at liberty; the enemy quite routed; and
dispersed in severall companies; that like
amazed creatures they rove up and downe
the country, and cannot make head of
five hundred; which at the first besieging,
was full five thousand: our foot forces are
greatly wearied, but exceeding good ser-
vice

vise have they done, against the enemy?
and as near as I can, I have set downe the
truth of our late proceedings, with a List
of the number taken, and slaine. Wee are
here very busie for the present, and keepe
a great Guard over the prisoners which wee
have taken, and we beleive the Gentry shall
be sent to London, and the common Irish
to be tryed by a Councell of Warre, the
under-Marshall and Keeper of our cut-
throates hath a beneficiall place thereof, of
the Inhabitants, both men, women, and
children, dayly resort to the Goale, to see
what manner of monsters they be. I beleive
you will have this businesse very suddenly,
in regard of which, I will leave you, ho-
ping that you will pray for our further
successe, and rest yours

I. ISACK.

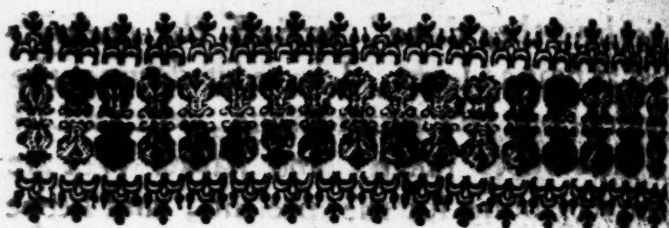
From Crews-House,

Ianuary the 29.

1644.

A 2

A List


A List of the Kings Commanders taken at
the raising of the Siedge of *Namptwich*, in a pitched
Battle between Sir *William Brewerton*, Sir
Thomas Fairfax, and Sir *William Fairfax*.
Against the Lord *Bryan*, chief Com-
mander of the Kings Forces
there.

Sergeant Major General *Gibson*.
Sir *Michael Barmely*.
Sir *Richard Fleetwood*.
Sir *Francis Boteler*.
Collonell *Warren*.
Collonell *Moncke*.
Collonell *Gibs*.
Major *Hammond*.

14, Captaines.
1. *Castilion*.
2. *Wither*.
3. *Lewerson*.

4. *Cafe*.

4. Case.
5. Kise.
6. Woodwofe.
7. Pate.
8. Morgan.
9. Lewis.
10. Signum.
11. Toobwood.
12. Thomas.
13. Lidcor.
14. Billingsley.

20. Lieutenants.

1. Smith.
2. Bates.
3. Saintford, &c.

26. Ensignes.

Browne.
Brewerton, &c.

4. Canoneers.
2. Cornets.
2. Quartermasters.

1. Captain Lieutenant of a Regiment.

6. Peete of Ordnance.

4. Trumpets.

41. Ser-

41. Sergeants.
40. Drummes..
61. Corporals.
20. Carriages.
120. Women with great Knives.
200. Slain on the right Wing, besides
700. Taken on the left Wing,
21. Gentlemen of Companies.
80. Fiery Bullets shot into the Town, but
did execution; but one, which lighted into
a Stacke of Hay.
-

Postscript.

S Ir my intentions were to have sent you a
more ample Relation, and to have certified
you of each particular which happened both be-
fore and in the Fight, but the Messenger was in
such extraordinary haste, I am forced to omit it
till the next occasion, intreating you to take this
in good part.

Vale.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Numb. 32.

THE
PARLIAMENT
SCOUT:

Communicating His Intelligence

TO THE
KINGDOME.

From Friday the 26. of January, to Friday the 2. of February, 1644.

THE designe of Captaine Ogle, the most famous weather-
cocke of our time, and how he was let out to go to
Oxford to make a Proposition to divide the Parliaments
powers, and to bring off the independants to Oxford, and to
leave the ridged Presbyterians (as rotten liberty calls them) is
the businesse that first came to our knowledge, which was upon
Friday, others have told you how the Keeper of Winchester
house carried it, who he acquainted with it, how Master Nye,
K k and

and Master *Goodwin* was taken in, and how they came to action, and begun with *Alesbury*, and that place must be delivered up for a 1000. li. an hundred was received, and the time set, *Toffier Garrison* cald away and the Town deserted, to the great joy of *Northamptonshire*; and thousands out of *Oxford* horse and foot, come in a great snow to have *Alesbury* delivered up, but after some stay, discovering they were like to be spoiled if they fell on, returned to *Oxford* with a thousand less then they brought, who either perished or fled, through the hardnesse of the season: we shall say nothing of the designe, nor whether it were better to throw off all Treaties and correspondings in private wayes with them, thereby to make them despaire or desperate, and so sooner end our troubles, nor will we wonder that old *Bristoll* and *Cottingham*, should be so besotted as to think that a Puritane will be corrupted, their old maxime might have learned them more wit, who was used to say if he had been told that such a man was adyerse to his designes in the Country, are they Puritans, if it was answered no, he would say, then let me alone, I warrant I will preferre them to my ends, but if it was told him they were Puritans, he would say the Devill take them, I shall never do good of them: Poore Lord *Bristoll* do you think to catch a Puritan with chaffe, they know the old rule no faith is to be kept with Hereticks, and that the Papist hates nothing but a Puritan, it seemes your Lordship hath emptied his decke, and my Lord *Cottingtons* trunke of all Spanisch plots, that you are come to this point one at last to divide them, that account themselves equallly miserable under Archbishops and Bishops.

Saturday, there came the Sheriffs of London, and some Common Councell to the house of Commons with a Petition, which was to desire some care might be taken about my Lord Generalls Army upon the recruite, that in regard there must be a deduction of Officers, by reason his Army must not be so big, that the

the rightest, civilest, and valiantest might be continued, which no doubt his Excellency will be very carefull of, and willingly condescend unto.

This Petition was not delivered untill Monday, and then they had answer, that it should be considered and hasted.

Monday the Scotch Commissioners had an expresse from the Scotch Army, which he saith was about Anwick when he came away; they are 18000. foot and 3500. horse it seems there lies a party of about 3000. for to hinder their coming over Anwick bridge; the Generall sent a summons to have his way free; Sir *Thomas Gleman* sent a modest deniall; some Letters say the Army is in three Brigades, one, as before, which came to Anwick, the other comes by the Sea side, the other goes by Lancashire side: they are like to be before Newcastle by the last of February, if they be not forst to go about, whether they will stay before Newcastle so long as to take it, is uncertaine, some think they will leave a party before it, and come forward with the rest; they of Northumberland come into them, and do notwithstanding or deny the Scots any thing, the Yorkshire Gentry were very earnest to have those in Northumberland, burne and drive the Country, but they will be of another minde when the Scots come neer their County there is no doubt: The Scots have published a manifesto, which coming sooner to Oxford is answered before we see it; great asseverations are used by his Majestie in the answer, that nothing is or was ever intended, but our Liberties and Religion, her Majestie and her Jesuites, my Lord *Cottington*, the Bishop of Canterbury, *Wren* and many thousands of the Clergey and Laity dares not take God for to witnesse: There is also a Declaration come from the Scots, which is to be presented to the Parliament for concurrence in.

There came to our sight this week his Majesties Speech made to the pretended houses at Oxford, in which he shewes how he was forst to take up Armes in a defensive way, it was to defend

those sure that were obnoxious to the Law, for none had cause to fear but they; he bewailes the suffering of his Subjects in generall: and most of those met together, and indeed there is cause, for if ever any King was King of beggers he is or is like to be in short time if God prevent not, he cries out upon the Rebels who have beene so farre from seeking an accord that they have called in the Scots to Conquer this nation and undoe it. This is the old Argument that was used when they came in before; for what was heard in most mens mouthes, but, when will they be gone, we shall never get them out of the Kingdome, they will begger us, and conquer us, and such like; but those that were so forward to have them gone, may now looke upon their folly, and say, I have beene since plundered, and beggered, and lost my son, yea, my husband, yea, my brother, and say, What a foole was I to be deluded by the Court holy-water: Had they stayed in, we might have had what Laws, what securitie of Religion we had pleased, Ireland had not beene lost, the Kingdome of England not beggered, my revenue not come from ten thousand, eight thousand, five thousand pound *per annum*, to nothing; England, had they stayed, might have beene the ballancing power of Christendome, relieved all the distressed in Germanie, given the Antichristian Papacie a mortall wound; but now (O cursed Court-delusions!) we are undone, our habitations are become desolations, and we see no end of our miseries. Are they comming againe, sure when they went out before, they went out honourably, and did beyond all our thoughts, and no doubt they will againe, and now, put end to our troubles, root out Popery and Prelacie, bring Delinquents to condigne punishment, and settle a blessed peace in this Kingdome, and then revenge the blood of all the poore Protestants, upon the bloody barbarous Rebels of Ireland.

And let one Memorandum be given to some, who liked the last

last income of the Scots, who were too forward to have them gone, then saying, when it was objected things would go ill so soone as they were gone, replied, no, no, we have this, and that, and the other string to our bowes, but we see a'l brake, England, and Ireland was undone; therefore be sure to be wise at last, and see all done before they returne, and let them stay untill it is well settled after it is done.

We heare this day that the Kings forces appeare numerous about Southampton, and that they disturbe Colonell Nortons horse quarters, as for the London forces, they remaine at Perworth, wherethey have fortified; and Sir *William Waller*s own wearied and worne partie, or powers, in, and about Arundell: And it was further added, that they bend all their powers against Sir *William Waller*, to get into the Countie of Suffex and Surrey: The same is reported to be the designe of Newcastle, to send a Partie into the other associated Countie of Lincolne, &c.

Tuesday there came a Trumpet from Oxford to my Lord Generall, with an overture, or intimation, to a Treatie, it was signed by the Prince, Duke of York, foure and forty Lords, and an hundred of the House of Commons men, and no other men, neither Knights or Gentlemen: where note, that though the name of a Parliament be not owned, yet they act as such, and will easily assume the name at pleasure. The Parliament thought not good to take notice of this Message, onely some consulted of both Houses what to returne, and it was resolved, that my Lord Generall should send a complement, and inclose the Covenant and Declaration agreed upon by both Kingdomes, which if they pleased to concurre in, then all might suddenly come to an end.

This day the Commons considered of a Generall taking the Covenant, & the Lords consented to the Declaration of the Scots (before mentioned) and a Committee was appointed to thinke upon a way to disperse them.

The Commons this day considered of a recreate for Sir *William Walker*, at least of a way of maintenance for three thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and five hundred Dragoones, in the association of Kent, Suffex, &c. which will be very well for those Counties, and though the enemy may flourish about Hamshire, yet no doubt these moneys may raise such a power as will stop their further advance, for all the brag they make of Prince *Maurice* with his West-countrey powers, especially when the forces are got to *Plimouth*, who are daily prest and shipt for that purpose: thereby to divert the enemy, but especially to impede the landing, or at least the making head of the Irish powers, and others, in case they come, and likewise those already come, who, besides the men, are said to be seven hundred Irish women, who begin to cut throats apart in *Somersetshire*.

We were informed this day, there is a probability of our gaining of *Newark*, for we understand a Partie of five thousand foot, old souldiers, and two thousand horse, are before it, intending to storme it, it is like to prove hard worke.

There brake out of the Tower on Monday night, Sir *John Gutterie*, a North Countrey Knight, & a dangerous man, but before he got to *Windfor* he was taken, by the care and paines of Captaine *Baxter*, one of the Captaines of *Windfor-castle*, who upon secret information that one would escape with some Muskietiers on horseback, so narrowly watcht, that they lighted upon him, and brought him to *Windfor-castle* early in the morning.

The forces of the King about *Basum*, being about four thousand, intended to fall upon the house of *Frogmorton*, in the said Countie, the small partie therein being not able to resist, quit the house, which when the enemy came, and found no partie there, they set it on fire, and departed.

We understand by those that come from *Arundell*, that there

against mortality in that place, and that most of the prisoners there taken are like to die, and besides it is infectious to our men also; which we have no need to looke at that way, and to the many ill effects that will ensue.

The affairs beyond seas stand thus, the Swedes are rooting themselves in the King of Denmarks Country, and its believed will get over the Dike, which if they should, then all will be spoiled on Denmarks side, he labours all he can to get forces to oppose them, staying all ships to take out all men fit for service; he hath sent three of his Nobles to Sweden to labour an accord: This businesse is like to hinder an accord; we heare likewise that the Swedes French and States are agreed of three years longer prosecution of the war which will make little for the supply of the Oxford party: My Lord Goring goes but slowly forward in his negotiations, the contributions in the united Provinces for Ireland exceeds all the contributions made for the Palatinate and poore of Germany in England.

We had newes Wednesday night, that the forces of Sir Will. Brereton and Sir Tho. Fairfax, had relieved Nampwich and raised the Siege: Thursday morning we were confirmed in it, by a Letter of Sir Will. Brereton's own, and the Relation is said to be to this effect: The enemy understanding of the forces coming to relieve it, drew out to give them battell which was bravely performed on both sides; and the day doubtfull for a good space, but at last upon an instant unexpected the enemy gave ground, which those valiant Champions, Sir Tho. Fairfax and Sir Will. Brereton perceiving, lost no time to pursue them, until they were utterly scattered and dispersed; there were taken prisoners Major Gen. Gibson, Major Ewley, Sir Richard Fines Wood, Sir Francis Butler an Irish Rebel, Coll. Monte, Coll. Warin, Lieutenant Coll. Gibs, Major Hanson, Sir Ralph Donnes, 14 Captains, 20 Lieutenants, 27 Ensignes 3 Cornets, the rest run and rid away with my Lord Byron, who is gone back to Oxford, to insure that Sir Will. Brereton may have his honor conserved vyan him, 40 Quarter Masters 40 Drums 41 Sericants, 63 Corporalls, and 1700. Common men 6. pieces of Ordnance was like wise taken, 4 Cannonniers, 27 Waggon richly laden with the spoiles (not gotten in Ireland from the Irish Rebels) but from his Majesties good Subjects in England; 2 Lieutenant Colonells were slaine in the fight 200 in the right wing of the enemy, besides what in the left, foure Captains slaine at the siege, they threw into the Town between 80. and 100. fire balls yet none of them tooke but one that burnt a wood pile but was quencht and did no other hurt: Reader take notice of Gods hand upon the Irish that would first fight against Irish Rebels; and after as Eleons dogs fall upon their Masters, and that 120. Irish women with long knives to cut the throats of their prisoners, as they did at *Brinsford*.

Whereas the Malignants do take up and downe that Gloucester is besieged, others that it is taken, the contrary is the truth; for we heare from good hand.

hands, that Colonell Massey hath surpris'd the Grand Commiss: of Array in Herefordshire, and ten Captaines besides, and hath also taken divers Carriages going to the enemy with severall parcells of Gunpowder, in all, amounting to a good quantity, and hath also taken a barge laden with Sugar and Tobacco, and some Ammunition, whereby it appeares, he is not so straitly besieged as the enemy reports.

Quest. When is it necessary to take an army in pieces?

Answer. First, when the Counsellors are so corrupted, that either directly, or by consequence, they drive on rather for the enemies designes, then their friends. Secondly, when the grand and necessary heads in the army are at such a difference, that the severall bodies cannot ioyne without danger to the whole. Thirdly, when there hath been such a neglect in discipline, that there is an impossibility of reforming, or reducing the said army to such a civility as is necessary for the weale of the people whose cause they fight, and also for the conjunction of other powers with them. Fourthly, when the heads or counsellors of the army propound to themselves rather a particular then a generall good, and rather an irrational then a rational good.

Fifthly, when the generall heads of that body have by misdoing lost the love of the foldates, these, and not particular failings in particular men, are sufficient ground to new mould Armies, not any thing but what makes a universally unfit to bring about the grand designes for which they were gathered.

Quest. Whether it were better to have a confession of faith universally subscribed in a State, or to have a toleration in a promiscuous way?

Answer. It is better to have a confession of faith. First, because if the principles be agreed upon, there may be a harmony in something, whereas otherwise it is like to be in nothing.

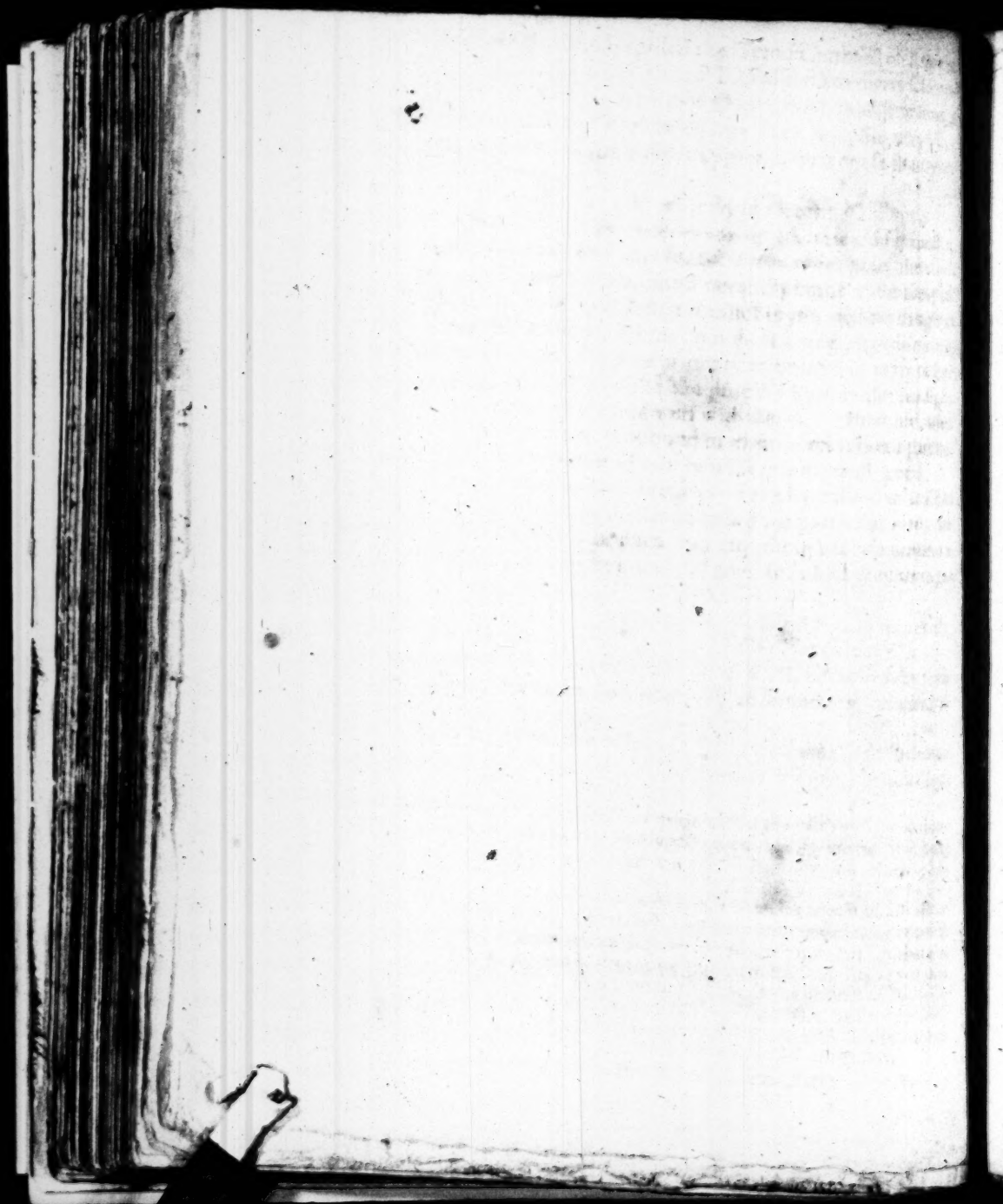
Secondly, if you have not a confession of faith, you will finde such runnings out, that there will be as many Doctrines as Pulpits, besides many in private.

Thirdly, the bravest heads and ablest parts (as experience already tells) will spend themselves in running after fantastick conceits, and so make their ministry unprofitable in the one, and the private Christians parts in the other or worse. Fourthly, you otherway cannot extirpate Popery or Prelacy, for if there be not an accord in fundamentalls, we by consequence tolerate all, at least untill they appear dangerous, which may as well be discovered before, as by experience in the practise: and if it be viewed there are spreading opinions in England, which speak as much Libertinisme as Popery, and there is no question but that which is dangerous to the soul ought to be stoppt as well as that to the State. Lastly you cannot correspond with other Churches or States, under that notion the defence of Religion against the papall Jesuited power, whose maxime is to set up their own, and suppress all other Religions with the sword. This Confession may be, and yet no man hindered from his full discovery of truth, nor compelled to subscribe to the opinions of others.

Printed according to Order, from G.R. and R.W. 1643.

THE
OXONIA
ANTIPODE
OF OXFORD





8

THE
OXONIAN
ANTIPPODES.
OR,
The OXFORD Anty-
Parliament.

First, Setting forth who it is that calls that Parliament.

Secondly, Who they are that sit in that Parliament.

Thirdly, What Parliament it is, when the Members of it are in one body.

Fourthly, To what end this Parliament is called.

Fifthly, What they are for their Religion, their lives and conversations, that beare Armes in defence of that Parliament.

Sixthly, That the Parliament now sitting at Westminster is the absolute lawfull Parliament.

Seventhly, That whatsoever is done against this Lawfull Parliament, is against God, the Protestant Religion, the Lawes of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subjects.

By J.B. Gent.

LONDON,

Printed for Richard Lounds, and are to be sold at
his shop neere Ludgate, 1644. 1643



To the Reader.

CURTEOUS READER,

He inexhausted Treasures of the
never-dying virtues of this faith-
full Parliament hath encouraged
my quaking Pen to salute you, by
presenting unto your view, the
weake indeavours of a Souldiers Quill; And the
rather, to give satisfaction to the world, that I
gave not sword to my thigh, till such time I well

To the Reader.

weighed the reasons that moved me to it, which were these ; To defend the Protestant Religion, this lawfull Parliament, the Lawes of the Land, and my owne liberty, from the violence and oppression of professed Papists, Traitors, and Rebels. And now having some leisure, being in my Winter quarters, after a sad contemplation of my Countreys misery, I thought fit to spend some houres in compiling this undigested fragment, for the better satisfaction of some various conceits that are amongst us, and for the stopping the mouthes of malignant spirits, who with their stupidity flatter themselves with the bare name of a King, never arguing to themselves how farre a King may command, or what commands of the King the Subject may not obey. Now here is discovered how farre the Kings power doth extend, to Command his subjects; And what Commands of the King the Subject may not obey. Here is set forth what the Ruler is by his Counsell, and that a good King will not suffer wicked Counsellours to be about him; All I shall adde is onely this request; courteously to accept my
weake.

To the Reader.

weake labours: And how ever you please to censure, I wish you a contented life, and an honourable death.

Yours faithfully affected,

JO. BRANDON Gent.

The Oxonian Antippodes, or
the Oxford Anty-Parliament.

Kings are appointed by God to govern the people committed to their charge with wisdom and knowledge, like *Solomon* who desired of the Lord to give him wisdom and knowledge, *2 Chron.* the 7. 10. that he might go out and in before the Lords people: for saith he, who can judge this thy people; as if he should have said that I may govern this thy people with wisdom and knowledge, by establishing to them a saving Religion and wholesome Lawes both which include a comfortable Libertie as King *Iehoshaphat*, *2 Chron.* the 17 the 7, 8, 9. verses, in the third yeare of his Reigne, he sent his Princes with divers of his Priests and Levites to *Judah*, and with them the booke of the Law of the Lord, to teach the people of *Judah* the Lawes that were written in that booke.

B

Now

Now the Law of God exprest in holy Scripture, is a Law that is written in the conscience of every man, in the conscience of the King so well as in the conscience of a Subject, which Law the Philosophers call the Law of Nature, and the Lawyers call it the Law of Nations whereof the Law of *Moses* is a plaine exposition, hence it is that the fundamentall Lawes are promised upon these Lawes, and the King is sworne at his Coronation to maintaine them to the Subjects, with such Religion and Liberties as the same Lawes do allow of.

It remains then that there is a Religion, Lawes, and Liberties belonging to the Subjects of *England*, and they are to be maintained unto them by the King, whence is it then that our Religion, Lawes and Liberties, had long ere this been taken from us by him that is sworn to maintain them to us? had not God of his great mercy stirr'd up the hearts of a Parliament to stand for us? by reason his Majestie gave himselfe over to evill Counsellors, he did choose rather to come in a hostile manner to the House of Parliament, to accuse five of his faithfullest Counsellors of high treason, then suffer to be brought to condigne punishment *Digby*, or *Germin*, or *Windibanche*, who are known Traytors to this State and Kingdome, such Counsellours they are to him as *Ahab* was, and *Abaziah's* mother wasto him, she counselled him to do wickedly, wherefore he did evill in the sight of the Lord,

Chron.

Chron. 2. 22. Chap. 3. 4. like the house of *Ahab* for they were His Counsellours to his destruction; it must needs follow that the Rulers are such as their Counsellours be, that there cannot be a good King that suffereth wicked Counsellours, if Kings be intrusted with Subjects, Lawes, and Liberties, to the end they should maintain them by the best meanes they can to the losse of life, and inheritance, and yet labour to circumvent them of their Religion, Laws and Liberties, and this being done in a Kingdome, which is governed by a Parliamentary government, and their Priviledges lying ingaged with the Subjects Lawes and Liberties, its time then for that Parliament to be stir themselves and by all the means they can, defend themselves, their Religion, their Priviledges, with all the faithfull subjects, with their Lawes and Liberties, from violence and oppression, and from being delivered into the over ruling power of p^{ri}ests and Rebels, and Violaters of Lawes and Liberties, but now the word Liberty has taken that possession in the hearts of English Subjects, that all the Monarchicall Prerogatives in *Oxford*, or elsewhere cannot tell how either by declaring against it at common Law by the advice of *Banckes*, and *Heath*, or by preferring a Bill in Chancery against it with the advice of *Littelton*, or by thundering sentencies out of the high Commission and Starre chamber by the Arch-Prelates to put it out of possession: when these would not do;

to bring their designe to perfection, they have thundred forth Proclamations to terrifie the hearts of His Majesties loyall and faithfull Subjects by proclaiming them Traytours and Rebels, for no other cause, then for standing in defence of their Religion, Lawes and Lyberties, And have raised an Army to suppress their lawfull Parliament: and now they have perswaded His Majestic to call a Parliament to sit at *Oxford*, there to sit in counsell (as I conceive) against God himselfe, for the rooting out of the Protestant Religion, for the destruction of his lawfull Parliament, and the Lawes and Lyberties of the faithfull Protestants in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, You may see to what end they call this great Councell, if we doe but looke backe for seven yeares before the sitting of this Parliament of blessed memorie, who seeing what action they have continually beene in, as by private wayes and meanes under pretence of Religion, still bringing in severall Innovations into the Church, by limiting the Subjects in their devotion upon Sabbath dayes and others, as if they should have said, God doth not give men the power of prayer, but wee must set them a Forme how they shall pray, and for what; And if they doe not pray thus, God will not heare them, with divers other Cerimoniall actions to be used in the Church; As to bow to the Table, it being set popish Altarwise, and to bow at the name of *Jesus* and in many Churches
and

and Chappels there was set up the Death and Passion of our blessed Saviour. And in His Majesties owne Chappell at *Whitehall*, there was an absolute Altar, with the holy Booke guarded with Tapers, with worshipping of God at that Altar, by singing of Anthems in their popish Coapes; All which being burthens to tender consciences, caused many Ministers of God rather choose to bee silenced, other some to leave the Kingdom, then to give way to such popish Innovations, and to have their consciences limited to such great inconveniences as these were, and for other godly learned men, whose judgements did foresee what great opposites these mountaines would prove, to eclipse the pure divine worship of God for ever being settled in the Church of *England*. These men (for the discharging of their consciences to God, as it was his honour that then lay at stake, to the people of this Kingdome, as it was the means of their salvation that lay at stake, by making knowne to the people of this Kingdome, the private plots these Innovators used under the habit of the Protestant Religion, for the circumventing of the true Protestant Religion,) were some of them pillored and Branded, some of them had their Eares cut, and some whipt, and all of them had the sentence of perpetuall imprisonment. But it pleased God to raise himselfe Instruments of honour contrary to their expectation, to cast out the Babilonish government which was crept

into our Church, and to raise them up againe, who for a long time before, lay under the heavy burthens of the prelati-
 cally suppressions, when as the Arch-prelates did see that their Gods and god
 divices must be throwne downe by a Reforming
 Parliament, than they conspire once more to ex-
 asperate the businesse a little further, and that must
 be done by protesting against all that ever this
 Parliament had done, to see how it pleased God
 they should worke their owne ruine. I verily be-
 lieve that protestation did disable them for ever
 having Vote in Parliaments any more, or to be so
 much honoured as to come into the in-side of one
 or both the Houses, unlesse it be to receive sen-
 tence for condigne punishment.

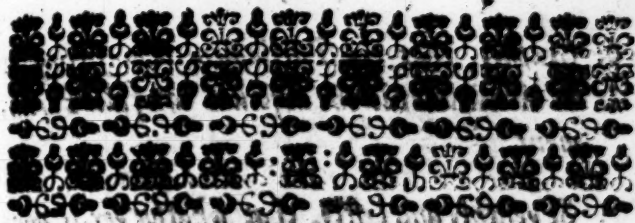
This former consideration being well weighed
 in an even ballance by every true Protestant, the
 consequence will be, that sithence they cannot
 disinherit us of the pure worship of God by so-
 menting our Religion, and so consequently to
 have disinherited us of God himselfe, for where
 the pure worship of God is, there is God him-
 selfe, by subverting our Lawes, by protecting of
 Papists and Recusants, and profest Priests and Je-
 suits from being brought to condigne punishment
 according to the knowne lawes of the Land.

It remaines therefore, that they will cast in one
 bone more, and try if they can pluck up our Reli-
 gion, the parliamentary government, the Lawes of
 the Kingdome, the Liberties of the Subject, by
 the

the root, striking at the very being of Parliaments. What colour doe you thinke they have for this? They say this Parliament is a pretended Parliament, wherefore they will have an Anti-Parliament called to sit at *Oxford*, could not His Majesties Cabbinet Councell, with their stupid injenious advice, advise him to appoint this Antipodes to be held at no other place then *Oxford*? there would have been roome enough for himselfe to have sate with His lawfull Parliament at *Westminster*, if He had pleased to have come thither, and for His Counsellours too, provided he would bring them to receive that condigne punishment which justly they have deserved. The place where this Anti-parliament must be held, is at no other place then *Oxford*, even there, from whence should flow both Milke and Honey, there where the Gospell of Jesus Christ should be in its greatest splendour; It should be a maine light to the Kingdom, a place where Kings should be instructed in the wayes of peace, and not to warre with His own faithfull and loyall Subjects, but to enlarge their Liberties; A place from whence should flow such streames of Sovereaine graces, and spirituall Balsoms as should purge away all Spanish and French factious Advisers from about His Majestie, and heale up all differences betwixt His Majestie and His faithfull Parliament. But here wee have it quite contrary, for in stead of Milke and Honey, thence proceeds gaule and bitternesse. In stead of giving

giving light to the Kingdome, it yeelds nothing but darknesse: In stead of Instructing the King in the wayes of peace, there he is advised to warre against his lawfull Parliament: In stead of purging streames, to purge away Factious advisers, there are Rivers that increale, and bring them to His Majestie: In stead of healing up the differences that are betweene His Majestie and His Parliament, there is greater differences made: In stead of Advising His Majestie to come and sit with His lawfull Parliament, He is there advised to call an Anti-Parliament in opposition to His lawfull Parliament. This proves the place to be Antipodes.

This



Now it remaines,

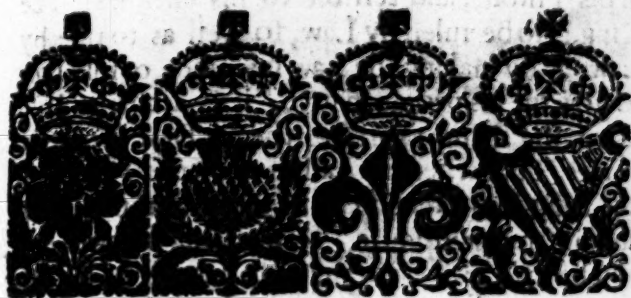
1. **VV** Ho it is that calls this *Anti-Parliament.*
2. Secondly, who they are that are called to sit in this Parliament.
3. Thirdly, what this Parliament in it selfe is, that is called, when the Members of it are in one Body.
4. Fourthly, so what end this Parliament is called.
5. Fifthly, what they are in their Religion, Lives, and Conversations, that beare Armes for the defence of this Parliament.

C

6. Sixthly,

6. Sixthly, that the Parliament now sitting at Westminster is the absolute lawfull Parliament.
7. Seventhly and lastly, that whatsoever is done against this lawfull Parliament by the Anti-Parliament, is against God, Religion, and the Lawes and Liberties of the Subjects of England.

1. Question.



Question.

Who is it that calls this Parliament.

Answer.

It is the King, and true it is, Kings may Command, and Subjects ought to obey their King so farre forth as hee shall Command them nothing but what is warrantable by holy Writ, and the Lawes of the Land where he Rules. The name of a King that Rules with wisdom and knowledge, with peace and Tranquillitie, revives the spirits of his faithfull Subjects, when as the name of an obstinate King, that rules by a Tyrannicall government strikes terror, and makes them carelesse in their dutie to their Prince. That King who by his ruling in Justice, hath the love of all his faithfull Subjects, seems glorious

in his Throne, and terrible to his enemies; The King is to be ruled by Law, so well as to rule by Law, as by making the Law his guide or rule how to governe his people in love; it is a charge layd upon the King expressly, the 17. *Deut.* 18. 19. 20. verses, That when he shall sit upon the Throne of his Kingdome, then shall he write him this Law, and in the next verse, *And it shall bee with him, and he shall read them therein all dayes of his life,* that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, to keepe all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to doe them; that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren; whereby is meant, that Kings ought to love their Subjects as nature bindeth one brother to love another, and Kings are to rule by Law, and the Law is to be grounded upon the word of God, that so it be, what the Law commands, God commands; And what King so ever he be, that commands any thing contrary to Law, the Subject may refuse to obey. Hence it is that the lawes of *England* being grounded upon the law of God, the King having already called a Parliament to sit at *Westminster* according to the Customes the Law doth allow of, and as yet not lawfully dissolved. Bee it to that Subjects conscience that shall now obey the Kings Command to sit in his Anti-Parliament, and to desert his lawfull Parliament, before such time as the worke be finisht, to which end they were summoned; As to roote out popery out of this Kingdome

come to redeem the Subjects out of oppressious Courts; and out of the hands of oppressious Monopolists, and to bring Offenders and Delinquents to condigne punishment; But if this had been done, there would be no Anti-Parliament at all, unless his Majestie would sit by himselfe, there would bee no Incendiaries left to sit with him, which brings me to the second thing.

Question

It is the duty of the King to sit with the Parliament.

C 3

Quest.

It is the duty of the King to sit with the Parliament.

and the King shall be as well to sit with the Parliament as the King shall be to sit with the Parliament.



Question .2

*Who they are that are summoned to sit in this
Anty-Parliament.*

Answer.

Parliament said I, the name of a Parliament is the greatest comfort English Subjects, have. Lawfull Parliaments reforme Kings, and their Lawes, if they be not grounded upon the Law of God, they have power to repeale them, and choose such Lawes as shall be rules whereby the King shall rule his people according to the revealed will of God, we cannot expect these comfortable effects from this Anty-Parliament, as might be expected by faithfull and religious Subjects from a faithfull and religious Parliamentary Councell, perhaps you will say the King himselfe sits here; Its true he does the presence
ment,

of a gracious Prince does animate a lawfull Parliament to goe on courageously for the advancing Religion, Lawes and Liberties for the throwing downe of Antichrist and Antichristian government, but this must not be expected here, although the King be there in person, for by this you may see of what value his Protestations and Declarations have bin all along from the first time he left his Parliament he protested alwayes he aimed at no other then to maintain the Protestant Religion the Priviledges of that Parliament, which at that time, and now, siteth as *witnesses*, the Lawes of the land and the Liberty of the Subject, he hath called God to witness to these his protestations, and yet used all the means possible, by blood thirsting instruments, to kill and slay all his faithfull and loyall Subjects to fire their houses, plunder their estates, when all this would nor doe, hath summoned all those together, who were his advisers to forsake his Parliament, to sit in Councell with him in his Army-Parliament, where he will be furnished with Councells of all sorts, there will be Counsellors to advise him how to punish Fomenters of Religion and subverters of the lawes of the Kingdome, and in fingers of the Subjects Liberty, such as will advise him how to thrust out the Spanish and French factions, such as will advise him, how to punish such as shall betray the trust that the faithfull Subjects of England have intrusted them with, such as
Subjects

will advise his Majesty, how to bring to condigne punishment, all such as have had Articles of high Treason drawn against them, such as shall advise his Majesty how to gaine the love of his Subjects, and to secure his owne Crown and dignity.

As for example the Arch-bishops of *Armagh* and *York*, and Doctor *Beard*, they will advise his Majesty, how to punish Fomenters of Religion, by Inacting this present Parliament that Episcopacy with *Iure divino* may stand in full force, & vertue with the triple Crowne, Justice *Banckes*, and Justice *Heath*, and *Holborn*, will advise his Majesty how to punish Subverters of the Lawes of the Land by Inacting this their present Parliament that all such causes which have been tried and adjudged at *Westminster* since his Majesties Proclamation for the adjurning the Terme to *Oxford*, the Judgements are of no force nor vertue, but are contrary to the fundamentall lawes of the Kingdome, Sir *Ralph Dutton* and Sir *Henry Poole* will advise his Majesty to punish Infringers of the Subjects Liberty, by Inacting that Parliament, that no Clothier in *Glocestershire* shall make any cloath without paying to his Majesty one shilling *per peeces*, and to themselves two shillings. The Earle of *Bristol* and the Lord *Cottington* will advise his Majesty how to thrust out of his Kingdome, the French and Spanish factions by making an Act this present Parliament, for the establishing
the

the Inquisition, the high Commission I would have said, in this Kingdome, and to keepe an Army one foote, to keepe his Subjects in subiection to the Commission of Aray. Sir Faithlesse Fofca and the Lord Lutelton, will advise his Majesty how to punish all such as betray the trust that the Subjects of England intrust them withall, by making an Act, that it was lawfull for the one after so many Protestations as he did make to be faithfull unto the imployment which he had undertaken; yet afterwards to betray the lives of divers men into the hands of their cruell Enemies, and for the other to betray the Kingdomes Scale, from the body of the Kingdome, to be a colour for mercilesse actions. The Lord Digby & the pretended Lord Germin, will advise his Majesty how to bring to condigne punishment all those who have had Articles of high Treason drawne against them, by making an Act that it is lawfull for any such person if he make an escape before such time as he hath bin tryed upon the said Articles of high Treason, to betake himselfe to his Majesties Court for Sanctuary, and there to be received into his Majesties grace and favour, and to be of his Counsell this present Parliament. Prince Rupert and the pretended Lord Byron, will advise his Majesty how to gaine the love of all his faithfull Subjects and for the securing of his owne Crowne and dignity, by making an Act, that it is lawfull for any Commanders and Soul-

diers that are now in Armes for the defence of the King and this Parliament, to take plunder, and fire all such Townes, in the Kingdom of *England* or *Scotland* or *Ireland*, as the inhabitants thereof shall oppose the Aray government. Thus having shewed you who they are that are called to sit in this Parliament, I come now to the third Question.

Quest.



Question. 3.

*What Parliament this is when the Members of
it are together in one body.*

Answer.

IT is an Antippodes or Anty-Parliament the rather called Antippodes in regard of the contrariety of the place where this Councell is held, as I shewed you before, an Antippodes in regard of the contrariety in their severall Councells, as for example, instead of punishing Fomenters of the Prote stant Religion, they get Acts for the setting up of Popery. Instead of punishing the Subverters of the Lawes of the Land, they subvert the Lawes themselves instead of punishing Infringers of the Subjects Liberty, they Inact Monoppolies to be lawfull and so it is in all the rest

rest of their proceedings. Wherefore I conceive
it deserves not the name of a Parliament, for Par-
liaments reforme all things that are amisse, make
good and wholsome Lawes and Priviledges,
whereas on the contrary this Anty-labers all
can to confound wholsome Lawes and Liberties,
which brings me to the fourth question.

Quest.

I



Question .4.

To what end this Parliament is called.

Answer.

VV Hich I shall answer upon this consideration, if you please to consider their severall proceedings from the first beginning of these unhappy differences, and who they are that sit in this great Councell, you will easily finde to what end this Anty Parliament was called, it was called to this very end and purpose that seeing they could not by all the meanes they have used hitherto, as by the Kings Majesties deserting his lawfull Parliament by the Arch-popish Prelates protesting against all that ever was done in that Parliament, by their insinuating his Majesty to take up Armes against his Parliament, as also
by

by his Majesties countenancing so many popish Lords and Delinquents to his parliament, in keeping them from being brought to condigne punishment, according to the Law of the Land, all this being done, under pretence of monarchical power and prerogative, when all this would not inforce his parliament absolutely to dissolve and leave themselves and those Subjects who had intrusted them with their lives, & Estates, to the mercy of tyrannicall government, but have used all just and lawfull means to defend their Religion, Lawes and Liberties, even at that very time is this Anty-parliament called, thinking thereby to root out all at once, Religion, parliament, Law and Liberty. Argue but thus and we shall finde by what the Counsellors are what the Counsells, as if the Counsell be investive with popery, the advice must needs be for popery, if the Counsellors be investive with subversion of Lawes, the advice is for to subvert Lawes, if the Counsellours be investive with Spanish and French factions, the Counsell must needs be for Inquisition and Aray, if the Counsellors be investive to Monopoliseing, the Counsell must needs be for Monoppolies, if the Counsellors be investive to plundering, the advise must needs be for plundering and firing of Townes, if the Counsellors be investive to Treason, the advice of those Counsellours must needs be Treachery: Now heare you may see to what end this Anty-parliament was called

called. Now English faithfull Subjects looke to
 your selves, for if this Anty-Counsell goe on
 here is treachery a plotting to take away
 your Religion, to subvert your Lawes, to In-
 fringe your Liberties, and to roote up the being
 of parliaments, all these to be blasted by this
 Anty-parliament (if it hold) at one time. Thus
 have I answered the fourth question and now
 come to the fifth.

Quest.

(24)
called. Now English should Subjects look to
your selves, for if this Anti-Parliament
take any way



Question 5.

*Who and what they are in their lives and conver-
sations that take up Armes in defence of
this Anti-Parliament.*

Answer.

AS for their Generall Prince *Rupert*, it is well
knowne what hee is, both for his life and
conversation, glorying in nothing but licentious
luxuries, and plundering His Majesties loyall and
faithfull Subjects: all his Ambition is to get him-
selfe an inheritance by the destruction of our
Lawes and Liberties, by an over-ruling power,
with his Majesties assent, witnesse so many
Towns, as *Banbury*, *Brummidgham* and others, which
he hath fired and plundered. So likewise for the
rest of the Commanders that are joyned with
him. How many knowne Papists are there that
have

have taken up Armes in this unnaturall Warre. What else can we expect from such whole Religion is a blood-thirsty Religion; It allows them to massacre those that professe the Protestant Religion, and can we thinke they will fight for the Protestant Religion. Oh! let us not sooth up our selves with such foolish fancies; As for those of their Commanders that are not profest Papists, as the pretended Lord Byron, the Lord *Wilmot*, and *Neale* that was their Scout-Master, they are worse then those who are profest papists; They are like to subtile Woolves, who devoure Lambes in sheeps cloathing, who pretend they fight for the protestant Religion, when indeed they labour all that in them lyeth for to destroy it. As for *Neale*, hee hath beene one of the greatest high-way robbers this day in the Kingdome, yet now Knighted by his Majestie. Is it possible for those men to fight for the Protestant Religion, who joyned in Commotion with profest Papists, English and Irish Rebels, and fight for one and the same cause with them, and plot and contrive how they shall destroy such a Parliament as shall be lawfully called for the defence of the protestant Religion. The protestant Religion cannot be maintained by such unjust meanes. If such are the Commanders what are the inferiour Officers and Souldiers? as for them there are a great many profest Papists and Irish Rebels, Patentees and Serving-men, broken Tradesmen, Proctors and Officiates, Stage-players,

players, Fiddlers, and Highway men, and a great many of ignorant Welchmen. The papists and Irish Rebels they will fight in defence of this Anti-parliament, against the lawfull Parliament, because they know that if the parliament get the day, there will be a reformation of the protestant Religion, and popery should downe quite, and the Irish Rebels would be quailed, and therefore they will fight it out to the last for their Religion lyeth at stake as well as their selves. The Patentees they will fight, they will joyne with the rest, they know if the King with his Anti-parliament get the day, they shall renew their Patents, which if the lawfull parliament get the day, their hopes will bee frustrate for ever Monopolizing more. The Serving-men they will fight too in defence of this Anti-parliament, because their Masters doe, as if their Masters goe to hell, they will goe too for company. There are broken Tradersmen in this Army that will fight against the lawfull parliament, because they will not alow them Protections where by they might walke the streetes in despite of their Creditors. The Proctors they will fight against this parliament, in hope his Majestie and his Anti-parliament will get the day, and then there will be Trading enough at Doctors Commons, for there would bee more Holy dayes then ever there was, and *Excuses* as common as ever it was, and therefore they will fight and make as strong a party as they can against that parliament, that hath

been

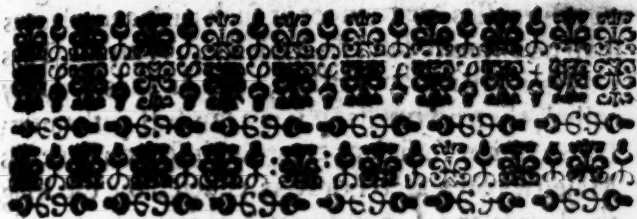
beene the cause of their downfall. The Stage-players they will fight against the Reforming parliament, for they reforme Church and people; they will not suffer more Stage-players, and by this consequence, their trading is quite put downe, but yet if there could be but a putting downe of this parliament, the King would for their Trade in as great estimation as ever it was, and therefore they will joyne also with the rest, and try if they can beate this Reforming parliament out of all. The High-way men they will fight in this cause, for that the King alloweth his Souldiers good store of plunder, and then they shall not need to feare hanging for robbing their neighbours. The ignorant Welchmen they will fight too, but it is for no reason at all, but because hur King is in the field, tell not hur of Religions nor Lawes, nor of a Parliament, for hur fight for hur King against them all.

All this while there is no questioning what Religion they fight for, only by the profest Papists, and all the rest fight for their owne by ends, and yet all against the Protestant Religion, and a lawfull Parliament, and the Lawes and Liberties of English Subjects.

Here you see plainly what sorts of men they are, that are in this Army, and as they are drawne up in Battalia they seeme to bee a great many, and who but the profest Papists have more care of

foules well-fare then the seeming Protestant, in regard they fight for the advancement of their owne Religion, and the other for the exhausting their owne by-ends and respects, never thinking of the advancement of the Religion they professe but fight against it. Now the next thing is to prove this Parliament the lawfull Parliament.

Question. 6.



Question 6.

*That the Parliament now sitting at Westminster
is the absolute lawfull Parliament?*

Answer.

TO prove that this Parliament is a lawfull Parliament, I shall not need much to dispute, For that Parliament that is lawfully called, is a lawfull parliament, To prove that this Parliament was lawfully called, is onely thus; His Majestie sending forth His Writs to the Sheriffes of every City, Burrough, County, and Corporation in the Kingdome of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, giving them full power & Authority to summon the Freeholders of their severall Cities, Burroughs, Counties and Corporations, to meet at their usuall places of meetings, There freely to Elect and choose by voyce or pole, such men for Knights and Burgeses for their severall Cities, Burroughs, Counties and Corporations, as the ma-

for part of them shall choofe, and these Knights
 and Burgeſſes are to meet at ſuch time and places
 ſhall be expreſſed in His Majesties Warrant. Thus
 was this parliament called, and if thus lawfully
 called, then no question it is a lawfull parliament;
 If this be not ſufficient to prove it ſo, you have His
 Majesties own Act. For it is enacted by the King,
 the Lords and Commons in this preſent parlia-
 ment, that it ſhall not be diſſolved without a ge-
 nerall conſent of both the ſaid Houſes. Thus is
 this parliament proved to be the abſolute lawfull
 parliament of *England*. Hence it is that this muſt
 be lawfully diſſolved, before there can be another
 lawfully called in *England*; For it is as poſſible for
 two Suns to bee in one Horizon, as two lawfull pa-
 rliaments at one inſtant of time in the Kingdome
 of *England*, but it is with them of this Anti-par-
 ty in this caſe, as in all the reſt hitherto, al-
 wayes labouring againſt this Parliament, that if
 once they could get it done, it ſhould never riſe
 againe. And ſeeing they could not prevaile, they
 will now have ſome colour for their rebellious a-
 ctions. They will have an Anti-Parliament to fight
 for; So by this think to make good all their aſſi-
 ons by having Acts made, that what ever they
 have done was lawfull, why it became it was done
 in defence of the King and their Parliament, as it
 was in defence of thoſe who now are called to ſit
 in that parliament.

Knights and Burgeſſes for and by the Queen
 Sithence it is ſo that His Maieſty and his Queen

band themselves together, with popish Rebels and Traitors, with other Incendiaries to this State and Kingdome, against God, the Protestant Religion, the lawfull parliament of *England*, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, let us breake their bonds and cast their cordes from us, and now stand up for the Gospell of Iesus Christ, by standing against those who labour to dishonour us of a faithfull parliament, and of the pure worship of God, and so consequently of God himselfe, this must be done by uniteing our selves together in that faithfull Covenant set forth by order of parliament, covenanting with our selves that we will stand in defence of our lawfull and just reforming parliament, to the losse of Lives and Estates, against all that ever shall oppose it, withall blessing God that ever he sent us such a parliament, to stand soe faithfully for the honour of God, for the advancement of his Gospell and for their owne priviledges, and for the Lawes, of the Land and the Subjects Liberty, as this parliament has done, let them not want your prayers, let them not want your persons to incourage them, nor your Estates to advance that cause they have undertaken for Gods glory, and for your future comforts, and without all doubt the God of Heaven will stand for you, if you will stand for the advancing of his Gospell, and you shall find that the Conspiracies of papists and Traitors,

nor

nor the murmuring of malignants, and the power
of Kings shall not prevaile against the Cause of
Christ; For God is a light to comfort his people,
and a fire to burne his Enemies.

*This is licensed and Entered into the Hall-books
according to Order.*



FINIS

THE

9

BISHOP

OF

CANTERVRY

HIS CONFESSION.

WHEREIN

Is declared his constant Resolution, his Plots,
and indeavours, to intraduce Popery into England,
and to advance the Roman Catholick
RELIGION.

Being from his owne hand, sent and directed to the
POPES Holinesse.

*Expressing to his Holinesse his sorrow for the unhappie
successe, and failing of all his labours and endeavours,
for the Advancement of POPERY.*



Feb. 3

1643

LONDON,

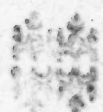
Printed in the Year, 1643

THE BISHOP

CANTERBURY IN CONVERSION.

WHEREIN
is declared his constant Resolution, his Pious
and industrious, to instruct Popery into England,
and to advance the Roman Catholic
Religion.

Being from his own private Papers and directed to the
Publick by the
Expressing to his Holiness the Pope for the purpose
to be printed by all his Holiness's and successors
for the Government of the same.



LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1644.

(43)

THE BISHOP
OF
CANTERBURIES
CONFESSION:

Sent unto the Pope,

Most holy Father of the Roman Catholike Church,
(generally acknowledged the undoubted successour
of Saint Peter, and Christs immediate Vicar) I hum-
bly beseech your Holinesse, to meet this my Confession
with the Armes of mercy, and excuse my unfortunate zeale
for the promoting and enlarging of your Sea and Vniuersall
Episcopacy; I will now strip my soul naked, with as much
humility as ever did any confessing penitent. Your Holinesse
hath long since understood, that as soon as I knew Letters
and Learning in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, I added my
Studies to know the chief points and principles of the Roman
Religion; on that foundation, I builded all the structure of
my Faith, yet kept my opinion secret, and did my Acts in the
Schooles at Oxford (*contra Papiculos*) against the Papist, but
in my heart I was (*pro Papiculis*) for (the Adorers of your
Holinesse) the Papists.

And being chosen to be Governour of Saint John in Oxford, which had in it then good wits, and propense to religion, these I cherished; and sent some of them to travel, under pretence of Accommodation of manners, but indeed to drinke in the ayre and Religion of forraign Countries, especially, to season them with the salt and savory Holy water of your Sea, some of them returned again well instructed in the tenents of the Romish Church, and first in affection to the Supremacy of your Holinesse in all Ecclesiasticall matters, those imployd themselves (*Semina Ecclesie Catholice surgere in vulgus*) to sow the seeds of the Catholike Religion in the hearts of the common people, but they were such bad base, and barren ground, that they would receive nothing but the precise seed of Puritan Doctrine. *Sed odi prophanum vulgus*, I ever hated the simple common people, as things that ought to suffer; holding this for an Axiome:

*Anglica gens, Optima Plens,
Pessima ridens.*

The English Nation were ever good when your Holinesse held a strict hand over them, and the Clergy were your Receivers here in England; (which times the ignorant called the time of Popery) but now since the authority and power of your universall Bishopricke hath been expelled out of England, what is England but a Chaos of Confusion? An outside of Religion: Priest and people rebelling against God and their gracious King CHARLES, whom in my heart and soul I can never enough reverence; for after I had forsaken the Vniversitie of Oxford, and was known by the title of Doctor Land, and Bishop of St. David in Wales, I according to my name, thought that

Magna placuisse viris non ultima laus est.

That it was a point of wisdom to please great men, especially

cally, my Sovereign King CHARLES and his good Queen, who being farre distant in opinion, I endeavoured to reconcile them to the Roman Religion: The beams of the Kings favour shining on me, I flourished in the Court, by Politie more then by Divinity, and Bishop ~~Abbot~~ dying, I was by my Sovereigne made Archbishop of Canterbury, an honour (as your Holinesse well knowes, and was glad to understand) the greatest that could be conferred in England on a Churchman; having all power *Iure Divino*, in Ecclesiasticall matters: And when I was advanced, I beganne to shew the (*ENERGIA*) and efficacie of that Roman belief, which I had formerly conceited, I did endeavour the advancement of your Holinesse Supremacy, and to establish the Catholicke Roman Religion, both in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, but unhappy events make bad the best intents, I did but (*intra ova excludere*) hatch some windy eggs of my own desires, which in promoting your Holinesse Pall dignity I could never effect, yet I beseech your Holinesse to take notice of your humble servants diligence in some particulars, and grant my endeavors this favorable censure, *Quod in magnis voluisse sat est*, that the will in high attempts is to be accepted: when I was firmly seated in the Episcopall dignity, I caused the Universities to put on the opinions of the Roman Church, and made Arrianism the Cloak under which it should have entred in, all the most pregnant wits in the Universities were drawn to be Papists in heart, in hope of prement, which I bestowed on those that ascribed all Ecclesiasticall glory to your Holinesse; so that the springs of Learning (Oxford and Cambridge) finding how I carried on the streame of Religion untill it should come unto the Sea of Rome, began all to incline to advance Roman tenents, and all Heads of Houses were either Arrians or cordiall Papists.

(4)
The Colleges had in their Chappels Altars and Church
so likewise, Altars were erected in most Churches in Ire-
land, thus farre I had introduced something of the Roman
Religion: and I brought in Ceremonies, as necessary ma-
ters, besides Organs were heard in every Church on Sun-
dayes, and to make Religion more pleasing unto the people,
one Doctor, *Rockington*, did by appointment, write a Book
intituled, *Sundayes Sabbath*; and all liberty was permitted
on the Sabbath day, for the people (I know) would affect an
easie and pleasant way of Religion, which by my contriving
was strowd with Roses, and faire shewes of Ceremonies.

And when I found that some of the Zealors, or English
Puritans, endeavoured to oppose my Will, and to write and
preach against me, as intending to raise the Hierarchy of the
Clergy, who with my self, would have willingly become
obedient sonnes unto you our Holy Father: I being exaspe-
rated with high and divine rage, and holy indignation, I cau-
sed divers of the Reformation, stirring and painfull Divines,
to bee imprisoned. I had my Pantacrists, or my Church
Scouts, that went abroad to hear Sermons, and if they could
bring me any accusation against the Puritan Preachers, I
would interpret it to be a point of *Lesa Majestatis*, *vel Reli-*
gionis, either Treason against Majestie, or against Piety: for
I knew that Kings must be upheld in their greatnesse, as they
might maintain us Bishops, under your Holinesse, who are
the *summum Caput*, in the predicament of the Church: and
under your Holinesse, all degrees of Clergy men are consti-
tuted by the differences of their severall Orders.

And besides, be pleased Holy Father to understand, that
I confesse I was yours in heart and affection, striving to ad-
vocate and perform, what I could never bring to passe. I used all
the meanes I could, to settle the Roman Religion in Ireland,
but

but was happy in obtaining my ends: yet I did proceed, ~~and was ever~~ ^{as I did} to move forward every occasion, and every stone to the erecting and building up of the Roman Church, whereof your Holinesse is supreme Head.

And to that purpose, if any known Papist (as the Reformers call them) were brought before me, I examined them with all the mildness and favour that I could extend towards them, multiplying their accusations: and patronizing and defending (as your Holinesse well knowes) some Priests and Roman seed men as namely one a Subtile Agent for your Holinesse and the Catholick Religion, also *Santa de clara*, was by my means maintained and cherished, and kept a long time from the rigour of the lawes of England, that doth import death on any of these Emisaries which are sent out from Rome or other places, to serve your holinesse, and disseminate and sow abroad the Papall Religion. On the contrary I discountenanced, and discouraged all the professors of the Protestant Religion especially those forwar, or rather factious fellows, Master *Barton*, Master *Erin*, and Doctor *Radnick*, men (as I thought of a strange temper, but being a Privy Counsellour, I saw upon them as their Iudge in the Star-Chamber, and condemned them with the rest of the Counsell to an ignominious punishment which was to loose their rees, and after that kept them in prison: but all would not serve to suppress the Reformed Religion, which I sought to change into that which they call Popery. And moreover I privately caused many Catholick books to be printed and published, as namely the Book called, The Introduator to a divine life, and another intituled, The Epistle of Iesus Christ to a devout soule; and those books were licensed by my Chaplain *Haywood*, and dispersed abroad amongst the English Catholicks.

But

But yet for all my industry, my favouring of Law
Papists, my policie, my printing of books, surprising
zealous preachers; I was unhappy in my proceedings, my
intent, layed open and discovered, and all the endeavours
my life for your holinesse and the Roman Religion destruyed
in a moment; I was by the Parliament now assembled
in England, together with my other fellow Bishops put out
of the House of Parliament, and my selfe (as your Holinesse
long since hath understood) was committed to the Tower
where I now remaine, and I that was once the feare, and
the indignation of the people, I look dayly to come to a
grand tryall, and to receive the expected sentence of death
which I will undergoe like a Christian, my greatest sorrow
being that I shall not live to doe your Holinesse that service
which I desired in advancing Popery and the Catholick
faith, yet that I might give your holinesse some account
of my diligence and labours in the great businesse of the
Catholick Cause, I have sent unto your holy hands this
Confession of my Life, and if I dye for my affection to
your holinesse and the Papall seas, I will carry my prayers
for your holinesse into Heaven, desiring also your holinesse
Benediction on your most humble and unhappy Servant,

WILLIAM LAUD

Arch-Bishop of

CANTERBURY.

Sir Edward Deering returned to London.

10 Numb. 20.

K pp
vnder

The true Informer:

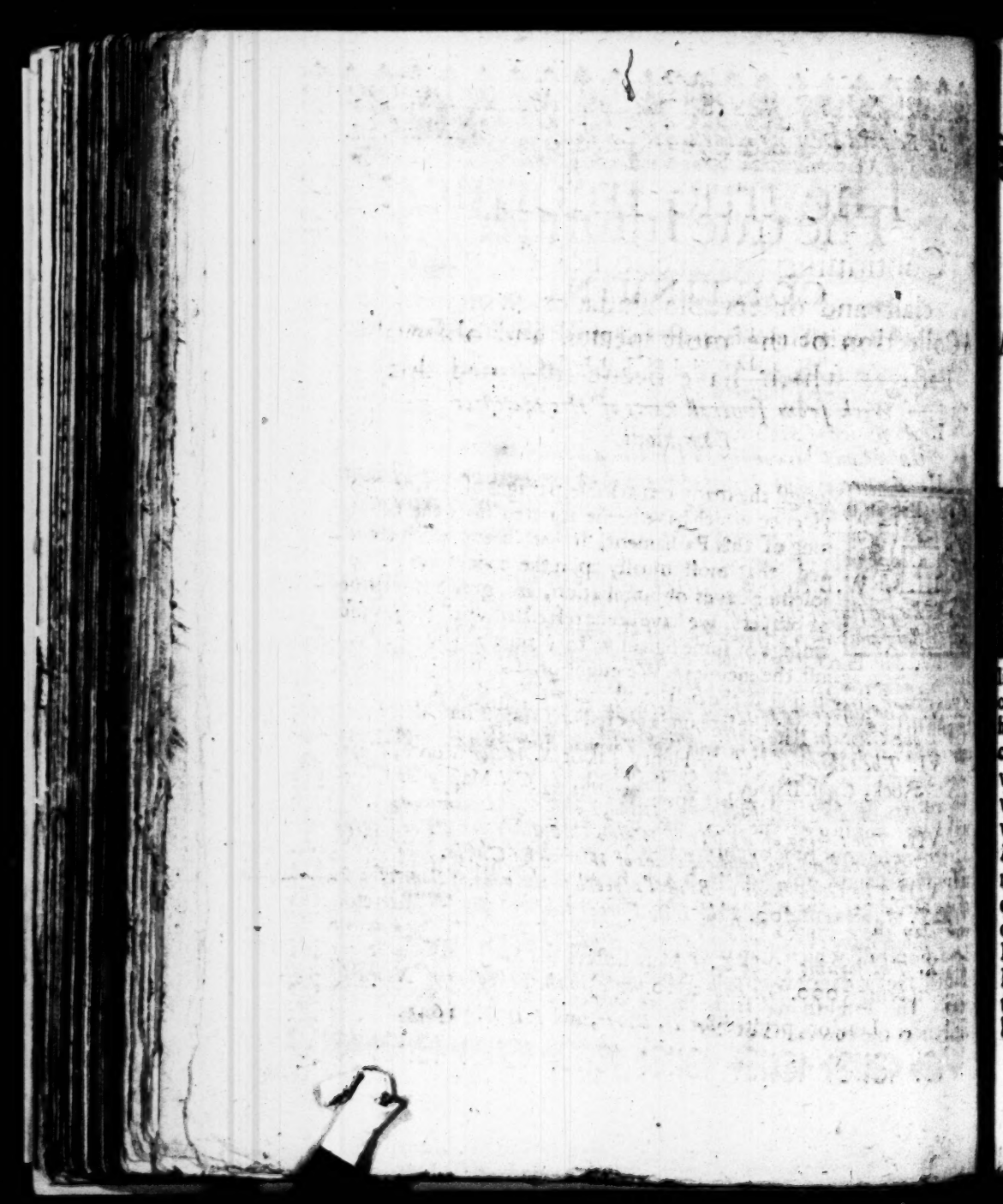
Continuing a collection of the most special and observable Passages which have been informed from severall parts of his Majesties

DOMINIONS.

From Saturday January 27. to Saturday February 3. 1643.

- I. A relation of Sir Edward Deerings deserting the Cavaliers at Oxford, and his coming to London on Friday last.
- II. A more exact relation of the victory obtained by Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Fairfax against the Irish Forces neere Nantwich, the manner of the fight, and the names of the chiefe Commanders taken there.
- III. Sir W. Breretons Letter (written with his own hand) relating his pursuit of the Irish Forces to Westchester, about 2400. being slain and taken prisoners, and of his intent to block up Westchester.
- IV. Sir Tho. Glemhamms retreating from Anwick to Newcastle, and of the Scots advance towards Newcastle.
- V. The difference at Oxford between Col. Endimion Porter, and one Captain Kite, with some observable passages thereupon.
- VI. The taking of Col. Sir Henry Talbot, S. Major Moore, Capt. Rock, Capt. Barrey, Capt. Seabrook, by Col. Massey at Chesham, and a barge laden with Wine, Tobacco, and ammunition.
- VII. The taking of a party of Welch Cavaliers neere Tredington in Worcestershire by the Forces of Warwick Castle.
- VIII. The Governour of Bristol's speech to the gent. of Somerset sh.
- IX. A report of 600. of the Irish Forces taken by Sir W. Brereton subscribing the Covenant, & resolving to fight for the Parliament.
- X. The joyning of the E. of Manchester and Sir John Gels forces (being 5000. foot and 2000. horse) in the besieging of Newark.

London, printed for T. Bates, and I. W. I. 1643.



The true Informer :

CONTINUING

A Collection of the most speciall and observable
 Passages which have beene informed this
Week from severall Parts of His Majesties
Dominions.



Mongst the many remarkable passages of divine providence which have beene agitated since the beginning of this Parliament, it hath beene often observed, that most usually upon the conclusion of our solemne dayes of humiliation, as a gracious returne of prayers, we have beene refreshed with the joyfull tidings of some signall victory obtained by the Parliaments forces against the enemies. We might produce many instances of this nature, beginning at the first most memorable Battell at Edgehill, and so forward unto the late unexpected and almost incredible success of Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* neere *Namptwich*, against the forces which came out of Ireland into those parts, whereof we had the first report upon Wednesday night last, *Jun. 31.* which was confirmed the next day by a Letter from Colonell *John Barker* Governour of *Coventry*, which related the names of the severall prisoners and Commanders, but by reason of the hasty dispatching of the Messenger, the manner of the fight was not then related. But on Friday there came a Post from *Namptwich* with Letters to the Lord Generall, which imparted a full Relation of the manner of the Battell, the substance whereof, as our Informer had intelligence, was this: The English and Irish forces which came lately out of Ireland under the command of Sir *Michael Eamesley*, and severall other

Commanders, having laid siege to Nampwich, made three several onsets upon it, and were repulsed by *Captaine Booth* Governor of that Town with great losse, *Colonell Boughton*, and foure Captains more, besides many common Souldiers being slaine before the Town. At last hearing of the advance of *Sir William Brereton*, *Sir Thomas Fairfax* and *Sir William Fairfax* towards them to relieve the besieged, they raised their siege from thence, and drew out their forces upon a plaine neere the towne to give them battell: both Armies met upon Friday Jan. 26. there continued a fierce encounter betweene them on both sides for the space of two houres, till such time as the enemy gave ground, which encouraged our Commanders to animate and draw on their souldiers with the more resolution; *Sir Thomas Fairfax* charged the horse, whereof the Lord *Biron* was Commander, who first began to flie: our Souldiers pursued their opportunity, and gave not over till they had totally routed the enemy, and dispersed and scattered their forces: the names of the prisoners of emicencie taken, all of them either Commanders of the English forces in Ireland, or native Irish Rebels, were, Major Gen: *Gibson*, *Sir Richard Fflewood*, Major *Michael Earucley*, *Sir Francis Butler* an Irish Rebel, *Colonell Moore*, *Colonell Warren*, Lieutenant *Colonell Gibb*, *Sir Ralph Dames*, *Major Hamon*, 14. Captaines, 20. Lieutenants, 27. Ensignes, 3. Colours, 4. Quartermasters, 40. Drums, 41. Serjeants, 63. Corporals, and 1700. Common Souldiers, 6. peeces of Ordnance, 4. Canoners, 17. Wagons laden with spoiles taken by the Irish forces from the inhabitants of those parts: besides there was taken amongst them about 120. Irish women with long Knives to cut the throats of such as they should take prisoners, or finde wounded.

The whole number of the enemies which were slaine are as yet uncertaine. There was Lieutenant *Colonell Vane*, and another Lieutenant *Colonell*, and foure Captaines slaine, 2000. common Souldiers in the right wing of the enemy, besides such as were slaine in the left wing. The Lord *Biron* is fled to Oxford; where hee may relate the happy successe he hath had since the inhumane Butchery of the Lancashire Forces: But Divine Dispensations are still suited to actions, and it is not doubted, but that bloudy action of his will at one time or other be repayed with a suitable measure and proportionable hand of Justice, when he may himselfe confesse with *Alonibazek*: As I have done to others, so God hath requiured me.

This victory so successfully obtained doth eminently confirme that
 generall observation concerning the unsuccessfulness of His Maje-
 sties Forces since the coming over of the Irish: since which time His
 Majesty hath lost more of his English Cavaliers, then there have been
 Irish Forces come over. Besides, he hath lost the affections and assi-
 stance of most of His English Subjects which were formerly addicted
 to neutrality. We may see how justly God doth avenge the blood of
 the innocent Protestants in *Ireland*, who are made a prey to the Re-
 bels, and murdered in divers places by occasion of the absence of those
 who should have defended them, but have now like vipers returned to
 eat out the bowels of their own mother.

Oxford.

From *Oxford* we have intelligence, that the newes of their affairs
 succeeding so averily in severall parts of the Kingdom, and of the arri-
 val of the Scots, doth so much perplex them, that finding no plots,
 designs, treacheries, nor under-hand dealings, to take effect, they are
 now divided amongst themselves. And amongst the severall factions,
 so at variance (which have been already related) there is a great con-
 test between *Endimian Porter* and one Captain *Kite*, who lately fled
 from *Egerton* in *Gloucestershire*, fearing he should have been taken in
 his nest: This *Kite* being one of the Lieutenants of that County, was
 a great stickler for the Commission of Array, and hath raised many
 men there, and done His Majesty much other good service, but his ex-
 pectations of honour are now like to be frustrate, if this difference
 between him and *Porter* be not speedily taken up, his adversary having
 so much favour in Court.

Worcestershire.

Out of *Worcestershire* it is this week by severall Letters advertised,
 that a party of Welch Cavaliers having robbed and pillaged the Coun-
 trey of about 500. Sheepe, and on Sunday night Jan. 21. drove them
 through the Countrey to *Chepstow*, where they put them into a gen-
 tlemans ground to pasture, of which the *Warwickshire* forces having
 intelligence, they sent out a party of horse, who took those Welch
 sheep-stealers, their 500. Sheepe, with about 18. grand Malignants of
 the Parish of *Tredington*, and brought them the next day into *War-
 wick*, where they will keepe her Countrey-men safely from any fur-
 ther plundering in those parts.

The Scotch Army.

By Letters which were brought to towne on Thursday last, Esh by a Post from the Scotch Army it is advertised, that upon the five night, that the Gentlemen of Northumberland and Yorkshire met with Sir Thomas Glemham at Arwicke concerning an answer to the Letter sent unto him from the Commissioners of both Kingdomes: Sir Thomas, Colonell Gray, and the rest, finding that they were not able to make any opposition against the Scots, deserted the towne of Arwicke, and went from thence unto Newcastle, to strengthen it against the approach of the Scots. Whereupon the Scots marched forward towards Newcastle, and were within twelve miles of it upon Saturday the 20. of January. Their whole Army already entred into England consists of 18000. foot, 3000. horse, and 2000. Dragoons. They appointed to keepe Sunday, Jan. 21. as a solenne day of humiliation, to implore the assistance of God in their intended progresse against the enemy. They intended to fall upon Newcastle the next week, not doubting but by Gods assistance for to take it in a short time. We have not as yet heard of any action performed by them in regard the enemy hath not yet faced or marched towards them: only that they have taken seven Troopers of the M. of Newcastle as they were scouting about the Countie. We heare also that a party of the Marquess of Newcastle's horses were sent into Northumberland, with a purpose to have had them fired the Corne, and other provisions before the entrance of the Scots; but the inhabitants of those parts crying out, that the Scots were comming upon them, caused them to make a hasty retreat, without accomplishing their intended designe.

Bristol.

From Bristol we have this weeke intelligence by a good hand, that Colonell Aston Governour of that Citie, lately sent forth Warrant unto all the Gentlemen of the adjacent Countie, to make their appearance before him, and they accordingly comming at the day appointed, he made a speech unto them; wherein he declared, that hee was informed, that Sir William Waller was comming into those parts with a great power, and intended to make a conquest of the Countie, and to take away their goods and estates, using many other seducing words to that purpose. Adding further, That it now concerned them, if ever, to doe his Majesty service, and that therefore they would provide

vide a certaine number of horse and man for their defence to oppose Sir *William Waller*. But the Gentlemen and other inhabitants being already weary of the undue proceedings, and severe deportment of the Cavaliers in those parts returned to their owne homes, without doing any thing upon his Propositions, desiring rather to bee freed from his and their subjection, of which they are growne very sensible.

Gloucester.

By Letters out of Gloucestershire, dated Jan. 25. we are certainly advertised, that the ever renowned Commander Colonell *Maffie* had the day before issued forth with a party of his souldiers of Gloucester, and came upon Colonell *Sir Henry Talbot's* Quarters at Shepshew, where he surprised the said Colonell, three Captaines, three Lieutenants, three Irish Reformadoes, Serjeant Major *Moore*, Captaine *Rocks*, Captaine *Barrey*, Captaine *Seabrooke*, besides sixtie Common Souldiers, with much Armes and Ammunition. Hee had also the weeke before sent out a Frigate manned with his Garrison Souldiers, which took a Barge going with supplies to the enemies forces at Worcester. The Barge was laden with Sacke, Tobacco, and some Ammunition, which is now brought into Gloucester for his owne souldiers. Likewise divers parties of his horse have lately taken divers Carriers going with severall parcels of Gunpowder, and other necessaries for Warre to the enemy, which he hath disposed to his owne use: so that we may be confident, that Gloucester is not in that straitned condition which the Malignants about London have for about this fortnight boasted of. We still see by dailie experience that God saves as well by small and weake means as by greater.

Newark.

Some Letters out of Lincolnshire say, that the forces which were left there under the command of the Earle of Manchester, and a party of *Sir John Gals* which were left at Melton Mowbray, have joyned together, being in all 3000. foot, and 2000. horse, and were set down before Newark, intending suddenly to storme it; it would bee an excellent peece of service if it could be performed: but wee much feare that they will not speedily obtaine their desires, by reason of the difficulty of the service, and strength of the place: howsoever, their Commanders are wise and valiant, and will bee carefull not to hazard the lives of their souldiers, unlesse upon good and probable grounds.

On

On Friday, February 2. in the afternoone we had a more particu-
 account of Sir *William Brereton's* victory in a Letter under his own
 hand, that afternoone read in the House of Commons, wherein he not
 onely confirms most of the former passages, but relates of a far greater
 number taken and slaine then the former reports were: viz. That there
 were about 2400. of the enemies slaine and taken prisoners in that bat-
 tell, and at their laying siege against Nampwich, for that there were
 above 500. slaine before the Towne, when as they in the Towne were
 onely 2. persons in all, and very little hurt done in the Towne with
 all their fire-balls which the enemies threw into it. He relates the en-
 mies drawing forth, and the battell, much after the former manner,
 adding, that they pursued the enemy as farre as Westchester, and that
 had not the darknesse of the night prevented them, they had done far
 greater execution upon the enemy: That his forces were now quar-
 tered about Westchester, which he hoped shortly to blocke up: And
 for the Irish women which hee had taken, it is intended, that they
 shall either be to put to the sword, or tyed backe to backe and cast
 into the Sea, that so they may not doe any further mischief either
 here nor in Ireland.

London.

On Friday, Jan. 2. in the afternoone, Sir *Edward Deering* was taken
 by the Parliaments forces neere the Workes comming towards Lon-
 don. He pretends that he came from the Cavaliers of his own accord.
 It is well if he be at last convinced of the great injury he hath done to
 the Commonwealth. Had he had the right use of his Learning, and
 the excellent parts which God had given him, he might have been an
 Instrument of much publike good.

We had also a report this afternoone, that about 600. of the Eng-
 lish Irish which Sir *William Brereton* took as aforesaid, have subscri-
 bed the Covenant to fight for the Parliament, but having seene no let-
 ters to confirme it, I shall leave it to be confirmed or confuted as time
 and truth shall discover.

Printed by *MUSEUM*
 Published according to Order.

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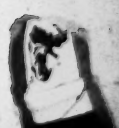
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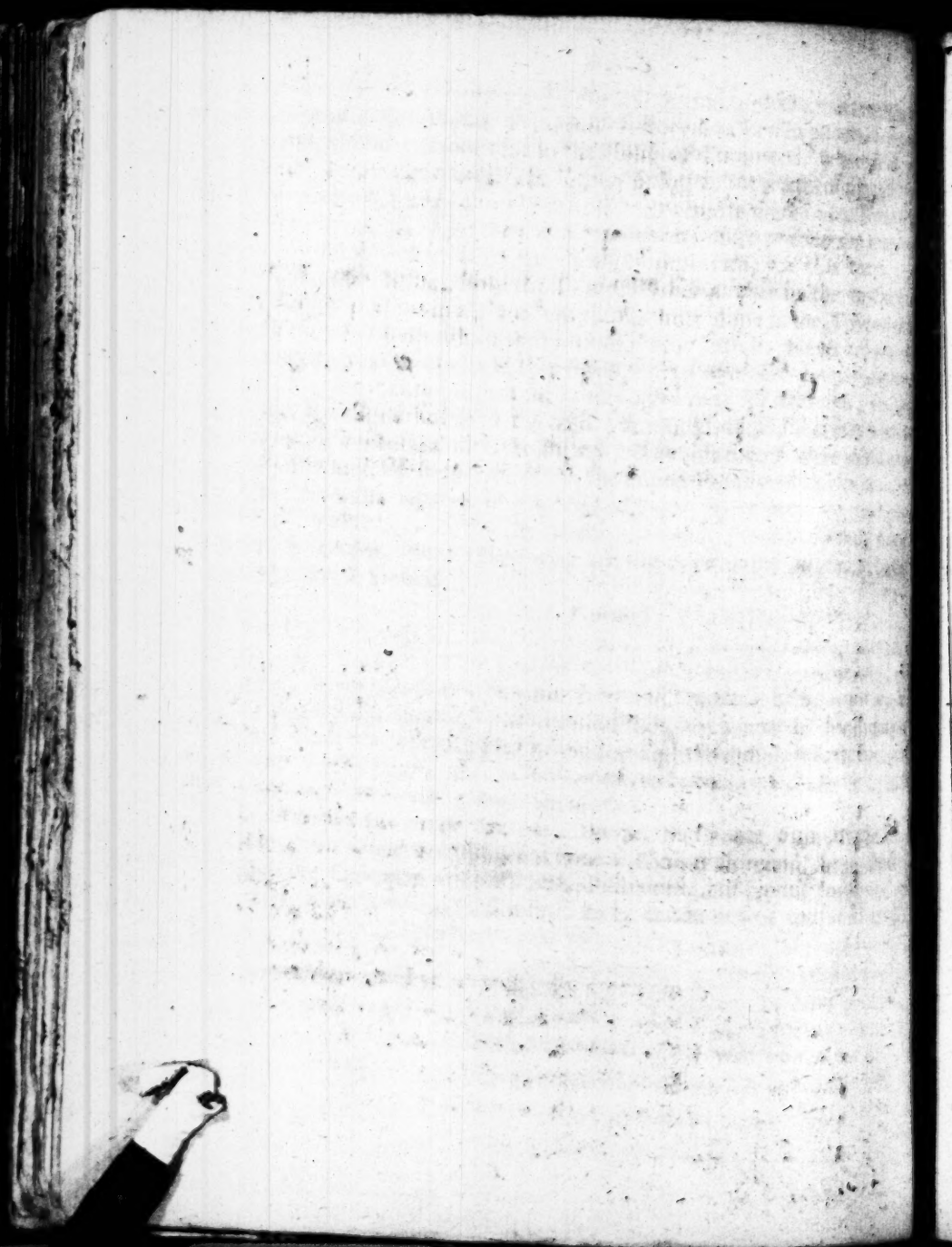
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OF THE GENTLEMAN





A 11
Most Grave, and
Modest Confutation of the
Errors of the Sect, commonly

Called } **BROWNISTS,**
 } **OR:**
 } **SEPERATISTS.**

Agreed upon long since by the
joynt consent of sundry, godly, and Learned
Ministers of this Kingdome, then standing out
and suffering in the cause of inconformity;
and now published in a time of need, for the
good of Gods Church, and the better set-
ling of mens unstable mindes in the truth
against, the subtle insinuations, and plau-
sible pretences of that pernicious evill.

Published by *W. Rathband*, Minister of
the GOSPELL.



L O N D O N,

Printed for *Edward Brewster*, and *George Badger*, and
are to be sold at the Bible, on *Fleet-Bridge*, and in Saint
Library 5^e Dunstons Church-Yard. 1644. 1643

Moss, Grave, and

Model Confession of Faith

Errors of the Sect, commonly

Brownists

OR:

SEPARATISTS

Called

Agreed upon long since by the
joynt consent of sundry godly and learned

Ministers of this Kingdom, then standing out

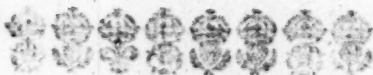
and suffering in the cause of inconstancy

and now published in a time of need for the

good of Gods Church and the better set-
ting of mens unstable minds to the truth

against the subtill insinuations and mis-
takes of the promoters of the same

Published by W. Tappan, Minister of
the GOSPEL.



LONDON

Printed for Edmund Prynne, and George Bagley, and
are to be sold at the Bible on Fleet-street, and in
W. Tappan's Church-Yard, 1644.



The
Publisher to the
R E A D E R.

Christian Reader, touching this ensuing treatise, be pleased to understand that it was compiled, (so as now thou hast it, without any addition, or alteration) many yeares since by sundry Reverend and Godly Ministers of this Kingdome, who in their times stood out and suffered in the cause of Inconformitie to the Ceremonies, and laboured the Reformation of things then, and still in part remaining amisse in our Church: therein both for opinion, and practise, endeavouring to keepe close to the Rules of Scripture, and what in them lay to eschew all errors and exorbitances, both of separation on the right hand, and of superstition on the left.

Who the men were by name, is neither now necessary to be published, nor in respect of them all, certainly known. But what sort of men they were that made it, and of what piety, charity,

To the Reader.

charitie, modestie, and abilitie for this controversie they were, the treatise it selfe by its owne light will sufficiently discover to the unpartiall, and unprejudicate Reader.

It is now presented to publike view (after so long deteyment) the rather because;

First, The Presse is now more free and open (then in former times) to books of this nature, which doe so oppose the Schisme of the Brownists, as not at all to allow of the tyrannie and corruptions of the Bishops.

Secondly, It seemeth now more needfull then formerly, through the late lamentable increase of opinions and practises of separation, and the dangerous rents atreadie made, and likely to bee made thereby, even to the utter ruine of this Church, if by the mercie of our God, and the wisdom of our King, and Parliament, some timely, and effectuall remedy be not provided.

Thirdly, Hereby (good Reader) thou maist see that the opinions, and practises of those that way addieted, now so much extolled, wondred at, and greedily embraced by many, under the notion of new truths, and a new and further light (as if some new created Star had now appeared to the world, never seene before) are indeed no other, for substance, but the old errors and dotages of Barrow, and Greenwood, long since by them published, and by the godlie, sober, and judicious in those times opposed, and exploded. Save that now, like rustie weapons, they are newly furbished, and being but the same mettalls, and materialls, are only cast into a new mould, with addition of some things more, of the same sort, then they
expres-

To the Reader, &c.

expressly held; mitigation of others, by them more sharply and rigorously delivered; and interlasing of others, more pleasing and plausible to make the rest relish and vent the better.

Fourthly, Hereby also thou maist perceive, and take up the true judgment of the true ancient and present Non-conformists of this Kingdome in these points, as from their own mouth, and pen. Whereof (by the help of God) thou maist make these, and the like uses.

First, Thou maist cleare them in thy thoughts from the misrepresentations, and imputations both of the Episcopall, and Schismaticall partie. Both of which would make the world believe that the Non-conformists have laid the foundation of Brownisme, by their principles of Inconformity, and that if this bee lawfull, the other must needs bee necessary: The former sort thus suggesting, to lay the greater hatred upon them and the cause of Reformation, which they promoted; The latter sort to procure the greater credit to their owne irregular, and unwarrantable courses thereby. (And would to God that some other brethren (though of a farre better sort, and such as have long groaned under their Conformitie, had not beene, or yet were not too credulous to such unlikely, and unreasonable suggestions against their brethren.)

2. Thou maist see that the cause of separation may be continued without relinquishing in one part, the grounds of Inconformitie, or leaning at all unto Episcopacie. As the cause of Inconformitie, may bee fully maintained without fetching
weapons.

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weapons from or betaking our selves unto the Camps of Separation, which thing I could wish with all my heart, had beene well observed by some (otherwise godly and judicious brethren) in these dayes, who no sooner begin to dislase and cast off, their old burden of superstitious conformitie, (of late augmented, and made utterly unprofitable by sundry other innovations) but withall they begin to dislike all Jet formes of prayer especially, in our Lyturgie, as unlawfull, to question their owne present standing in the ministerie as Antichristian, and to abstaine from our worship, especially our Sacraments, as Idolatrous, with other like unreasonable opinions, and practises. As if it were not possible for men to leape out of the Surplice, unlesse also they leapt out of the Church, and as if there were no middle betweene separation from the Church and true worship thereof, and subscription unto our practise or approbation of all the corruptions in the same. An error, in some sort, formerly excusable when oppression (as Salomon saith, Eccles. 7. 7.) and persecution made even wise men themselves madde, and sometimes in hast, betweene feare, griefe and anger, in a voyding one extreame, to fall upon another. But now, since that by the miraculous mercie of God) the stings of those great Bees are pulled out, and their hornes sawed off, whereby they have so long afflicted, and willingly destroyed this poore Church, I say now, we thinke wise men should looke before they leape, and so warily eschew one error as that they doe not unwarily run into another, perhaps a worse.

Lastly thou mayest be somewhat stayed, from baslie adhering

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hering, or inclining to their courses of separation, not onely by the Treatise it selfe, but also by the consideration of the Treatisers. For though no mans person whatsoever can be a sufficient bottome whereon to settle any opinion or practise in Religion, but the Word of God, and right reason alone, yet is not these mens example, or testimonie to be altogether slighted, especially in this controversie, wherein wee are sometimes almost deaffed with the praises of some of the sepe-rators eminent learning, pietie, sinceritie, zeale, &c. In which case I hope it need not bee offensive to any, perhaps it may be profitable to some (according to the Apostles example in a case not altogether unlike, 2 Cor. 11. 22. to oppose these mens learning, pietie, sinceritie, zeale, &c. against the others; Who as in all other things they were examples of bolinesse, so in this, that they have ever, not only forborne but stedfastly opposed to their great reproach, dammage, and danger many wayes, the corruptions in our Church-government, worship and Leiturgie, and have beene lights and leaders to these latter times therein, yet alwayes in a peaceable and regular way, as not on the one side to subject themselves to suspicious inventions, so on the other, not sinfully to separate from the Communion and true worship of Churches; accounting it more agreeable to all rules of pietie, charitie, and Christian prudence to tolerate for the time, what they could not mend, rather than to rent and teare all in peeces, to an utter ruine.

To conclude, though perhaps some few particulars in this treatise may seeme more questionable, yet for the maine I

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doubt not but the Authors have held close to the truth, both in their owne positions, and in opposing their adversaries. By which therefore (good Reader) thou maiest reape much benefit, for thy better settling in these unsettled times, if thou be capable thereof, and if the Lord shall please to adde his blessing thoreunto. Which hee shall never cease to pray for, who is, (all that he is) truly thine in Him,



W R .

The



THE
P R E F A C E
of the A U T H O R S of the
Treatise, ensuing to the
R E A D E R.



TH *holy* Apostle *Saint Paul* writing unto the *Galatians* these words, *Brethren, If any man be fallen by occasion into any fault, you which are spirituall, restore such a one with the spirit of meeknesse, considering thy selfe, lest thou also be tempted:* both sheweth the danger of falling, whereunto they are subject, who stand in the Church of God, and prescribeth the dutie of recovering those that are fallen unto such as are spirituall, That is to say, as are furnished with gifts thereunto, with the manner how all that ought to be performed: two necessary points in our judgements to be considered, and much tending to the preservation of the good and happy estate of the Church of God: for how cometh it to passe, that *Sathan* so farre prevaileth against it; but for that weak men consider not the danger of falling, untill they be downe, and almost past recovering; those that are fallen, either not at all, or not untill they be well neere without remedy. It is therefore one especiall part of holy wisdom, for men *who think they stand, to take heed lest they fall*, and therefore to seeke to know the depth of *Sathans* pollicies and subtilties, and then the effectuall means for the preventing of them, Into which if

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they

they carefully enquire they shall finde, that though hee seeke to draw even thole that have shined as starres in the Church, from heaven unto the earth; yet that he much more earnestly laboureth to make them wandring starres, forsaking the place wherein they seemed to be fixed, to give shine and direction to others, that is, though hee laboureth and endeavoureth to bring men from their first love and zeale, unto a lukewarmnesse, or key coldnesse in the Church, yet he rather desireth to lead them into a fierie spirit, and indiscreet zeale from the Church and societie of Saints, which no doubt he doth, as for many other causes; so for these two. 1. That he might by their departure, who have seemed zealous and godly professors, shake the faith of others, and cause them to doubt, that they are not in the true Church; where they may finde directions toward the kingdome of heaven: and at last to flie from it, as from Babylon. And 2. that he might deprive those men themselves of the happy meanes of the recovery which they might have had easily applyed, had they beene in the Church, and remained in the fellowship thereof: Hence it is, that in the Church of God, those who breaking the holy bands of love and faith, have like unkinde children forsaken her their naturall mother, and oft pleaded with her as a strumpet, which never was done in more convenient manner then of late, by certain of our brethren, who having been brought forth of the wombe, and brought up in the bosome of the Church of *England*, have not onely renounced, as a stepmother: but condemned her, as one of the daughters, yea the eldest daughter of the very whore of Babylon, railing on her, as if she living in continuall spirituall fornications, brought forth sonnes and daughters, not unto Christ, but unto Antichrist his adversary: By which their faults and fallings, as they have deprived themselves of those gracious blessings which they did long, and might have still enjoyed amongst us to their soules health, and made the meanes of their recovery more hard and difficult, so have they troubled and disquieted many remaining in the body of our Church, and of
strong

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strong men in the truth, brought them to be children again in understanding, easie to bee carried about with every blast of diverse and strange doctrines, how contrary soever to the truth according unto godlinesse, either taught or received by them. The case thus standing, we take it to be our duties, being members and Ministers of this Church, having by Gods grace received some, though a small measure of gifts fittherunto, as to maintaine the credit of the Church, wherein we live. And to justify the practise of our ministerie therein, so farre forth as truth will permit; so chiefly to seeke, and endeavour both the recoverie of those that are strayed from the sheepfold of Christ amongst us, and also the stay of those that are ready to ruine after them, together with the better grounding, and confirming of them who remaine in the focke, with comfort under their shepheards, which duty we have endeavoured to performe heretofore by publike preaching, and private conferences as occasions hath beene offered, and now have bestowed our labours in writing this treatise following, to the same end wherein after wee have proved by certaine reasons, that our Assemblies, are the true Church of God, we take upon us to shew.

First, The foure chiefeft exceptions, they take against our Church for warranting Schisme, and separation from us are vaine and frivelous.

Secondly, That the maine grounds they stand upon for the erecting their new Church, are weake and slender.

Thirdly, that the best arguments that they use for condemning us, and justifying themselves, are loose and insufficient: which points as we have gathered out of their printed books and written papers (where they were before scattered) and brought into one forme and body, so have we more plainly, and nakedly, both proposed, and dealt in, passing by all impertinent, and offensive matters; And their flouting declamations, petitions, exclamations, and bitter reviling speeches against our Churches, Ministers, and people, all their reprochfull slanderous profane scorninges, fearefull blasphemies a-

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gainst the Word preached, and Sacraments administred, prayers, and holy exercises of Religion, used in our Assemblies, wherewith their writings, and printings swell to some bignes, as Bladders puffed up with winde. All these (though wee have given the Reader some taste of their spirit in them) yet have wee not in our Treatise stood upon them, for that wee judge them not worthy the answer.

This worke of ours, we commend, first unto our brethren departed from us, desiring them to read it, without partialitie, selfe love, prejudice or other sinister affections, and with meekenesse, indifferencie, and love of the Truth, desire to be informed, and readinesse to be reformed, where they erre and goe astray: It may be that God will give a blessing to it, may sure wee are, *that he is faithfull that hath promised, to give unto those that aske, to open to those that knocke, and to cause them to find that seek, the truth in sincerity of their hearts, especially if to the reading thereof, they adjoyne:* First, a review of the books which have beene written by the Ring-leaders of their separations. Secondly, a view of the persons of whom their Assemblies consist. And Thirdly, a consideration of the estate wherein their Church now standeth. In the review of the bookes which have been written, we exhort them with single hearts, to examine the spirits wherewith the authors of them were led in their writing, and they shall finde it not to be the good spirit of God, which filleth mens hearts with meekenesse, humilitie compassion, softnesse, holinesse, and other sanctified affections, but that evill spirit of Saran, which under colour of zeale of Gods glory, hatred of sinne, desire of serving God in sincerity, thrusteth men whom it hath deceived into pride, selfe love, rashnesse, unnaturall affections, uncharitable surmises, and most unchristian judgment of their brethren.

Secondly, to weigh wisely what end they proposed to themselves in their writings, which will evidently appeare to be not so much the cleering of themselves, from the crime of Schisme, as the drawing of others to joyne with them, and
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the defacing of our Church, which they compare with the most Idolatrous, and heathenish Nations, that ever were, yea with *Sodom* and *Babylon* it selfe, and the disgracing the Ministers thereof, especially those whom heretofore they have most revered, whom they sort with most wretched Mifcreants, *Indas*, *Cain*, *Balaam*, and many other, upon whom the spirit of God hath set a fearefull brand of eternall condemnation.

Thirdly, to try carefully the allegations of Scripture, wherewith they have fully painted the Margents, and with the multitude, whereof they have astonished the simple, or credulous Readers, perswading them, that their cause standeth upon the same ground of Gods holy Word, and they shall plainly perceive, that the places by them alleadged, do for the most part prove that, which we denie not: And if they be brought to confirme the matter in controversie, they are either unconscionably, or ignorantly wrested against, or besides the meaning of the Holy Ghost. A second thing which we intreat them to do is, to view the persons of whom their Assemblies consist, and let them tell us how many of them there bee, whom they have brought from grosse ignorance, unto true knowledge, from infidelitie, to holy Faith, from profaness of life, to a conscionable walking with God; if there bee scarce any amongst them, which have nor bin of some note in our Churches, for holy and sincere profession; and if they had no good thing in them, which they have not received by the ministerie of those men, and in the bosome of those Churches, which now they condemne, and flie from, why then take they the Scale of our ministerie, and Church, and set it unto their blanks? Thirdly we exhort all of them to a survey of their estate, wherein they stand, which is (if that be true, which by some of their own hath been reported) full of disorder and confusion; And indeed how can it otherwise bee, whereas they teach that every member of their Church may, and ought to stand up against their Ministers and Elders, to gaine say them in delivering of doctrine, and

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and withstand the other in execution of discipline; If he be perswaded, the one erreth from the truth, and the other faileth in justice, is not this to make every member an eye, an eare, an head? And must not men be of Angelicall perfection to preserve unitie, where such large libertie is granted unto them?

A second sort to whom we commend this labour of ours, be our brethren also who by the writings, doings, and sufferings of these deceived men, are in danger likewise to be deceived, being brought to halt betweene two opinions. These also we pray to read it with an holy purpose, to be fully resolved, and settled in the truth. We hope their labour shall not be in vaine, if they will accept from us these few advertisements.

First, That they make not the example of any man seem, he never so godly, religious, and zealous, but the Word of God only, the rule of their beliefe, and life; *Paul* himselfe must be followed no further, when the holy precepts of the Word, and the examples of the godly joyn together, we have the one to teach us, the other to incite us to doe our duties.

Secondly, That they carry an humble and lowly conceit of themselves, and their gifts.

1 Cor. 8. 2.
Galath. 6. 3.

That they remember, that if any man thinke hee knoweth any thing, hee knoweth nothing as he ought to know; And that if any man seeme to himselfe, that he is somewhat, when he is nothing, he deceaveth himselfe in his imaginations.

That to this purpose, they occupie themselves in consideration of their owne wants, and sinnes, which cleave so fast unto them, rather than in the marking the blemishes, & noting the faults that are in others, following the counsell of the Apostle. *Let every one prove his owne worke, and then shall he have rejoicing in himselfe only, and not in another.*

Galath. 6. 4.

Thirdly, that they have a reverend opinion of those men by whose ministerie they have beene begotten unto God, or nourished in the truth, by whose labours they have beene instructed, confirmed and comforted, in whose mouches the Word of God hath beene unto them, as a two edged sword, entring

entring through them unto the deviding a sunder the soule and spirit, the joynts and the marrow, that they suffer not a sinfull thought to enter into their heads, of their vnlawfull vocations, who have their hearts and soules, as Seales of their ministry, and may say to them as *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, are *ye not my worke in the Lord, if I be not an Apostle unto others, yet doubtlesse I am unto you, for you are the Seale of mine Apostleship in the Lord*; whereof they should therefore be the more carefull, for that it hath bin an ancient and ordinary policie of Satan, that hee might cause men to refuse the word brought unto them in the mouthes of the Prophets, Apostles and other men of God, yea of Christ Himselfe to perswade them that they had no warrant of their vocations, and calling from God.

Fourthly, That if notwithstanding, all that is said for their instruction, and reformation in this behalfe, they keepe a liking of that draught of a Church, which our deceived Brethren have framed and commended in their writings, and desire to joyne themselves unto their societie.

They yet remember it is a part of wisdom, to stay the full establishing of their Church, and practise of the Ordinances thereof, for a time that they may see what blessings of God bee upon it, for the ratifying and approving of their doings: for if it bee of God, it will stand as an house founded upon a sure Rocke, if it bee of men, it will come to naught.

A third sort to whom we commend this worke of ours are our stronger brethren which continue with comfort in the societie of their Church, them wee intreat that if they finde any confirmation or strengthening unto their consciences by the pursuing hereof, any increase of knowledge and ability to maintaine the truth of our Church, Sacraments and word, to defend the lawfulnessse of our ministerie, and practise of Gods externall worship amongst us.

That first they praise God whose gift it is, that any thing is spoken, or written for their edification; instruction and consolation, and then bestow the same as occasion shall be offered,

to the reclaiming of those that are strayed, and holding them that are ready to wander.

Wee lastly commend this simple travell of ours to the Church of God, whereof we are unworthy Ministers, beseeching her to accept our poore endeavours, the rather, for that wee are not ignorant that the labours which we have taken in this cause, will be diversly judged of, according to the manner and affection of those men to whom this worke shall come.

Some, as namely, our deceived Brethren against whom we deale, will hold it damnable and execrable, as being bestowed against the Church of Christ, against the Saints and children of God, against the holy Truth taught in the Testament of Christ; yea, and that contrary to the light of our own consciences, and knowledge of our owne hearts.

To the first part of this their charge and accusation, we answer; That whether they or wee be the true Church of God: whether they or wee have the Truth taught in the Testament of Christ, is the matter in controversie betwixt us. If wee be the Church of God and have the Truth of Christ, as we hope shall appeare by this Treatise, then have they written and spoken against the Church of God, and that in most shamefull and fearefull manner. If they be the true Church of God, and have his Truth (which we assure our selves they shall be never able to prove) then have wee spent our labours against the Church of God: But have we done it wittingly and willingly against the light of our hearts; This is indeed the second part of their charge: but who made them the searchers of our hearts, and judges of our consciences, that they should accuse us, to smother and quench the light of Truth, which hath shined into our soules, especially when they heare our protestations to the contrary, where is that Charitie that thinketh none evill, which hopeth all things; we say therefore unto the second part of their accusation with the Apostle, *We say the Truth in Christ, our consciences bearing us witnesses in the holy Ghost; that we can say nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth,*

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Truth, willingly and willingly. And in the Testamonic thereof we pray God that our tongues may cleave to the roose of our mounthes when we eudeavour to speake, and that our pennies may sticke to the ends of our fingers, when wee attempt to write any thing against the Church, Children, or Truth of God.

Some others, Fathers, and Brethren, Ministers, and Members with us of this Church, finding by our manner of writing of what judgement wee are, will hold our paines requisite and necessarie, to stay the course of these waters which wee have given passage unto, and to make up the breaches wee have opened, by speaking against the government established in this Church, the Ceremonies used therein; and other our unadvised dealings in the execution of our Ministrie.

To these men wee say first, that as we have beene, and are perswaded of the Truth of these things which we have delivered, touching the defects and wants, the blemishes and deformities of this Church. So have we in the sincerity and uprightness of our hearts, dealt for the redresse and Reformation thereof: Wherein, though we know nothing by our selves before men, more then Truth will permit, if they should have taken occasion by our doctrine (which we perswade our selves to be the doctrine of the Truth) to make this Schisme; Yet were this no reason to reprove us, unlesse those men which have set downe true positions be to be blamed, as Authors of the false Collections and Conclusions which are inferred and gathered thereupon.

Secondly wee answer, That our deceived Brethren do no lesse condemne those Churches of God, as the Synagogues of Sathan, where the doctrine which wee have taught touching the government of the Church, and matters of Ceremonies is maintained, and where all things which wee hold offensive in our Church are abolished, then they doe the Church of England, insomuch that they have written of the Church of Geneva (which is holden to be the best pattern of a Reformed Church) that it became a miserable president and pernicious example

example even unto all *Europe*: whereby it is evident that they have beene brought unto this Scisme by some other inducements then the dealing of those men in the execution of their Ministrie, who are charged to be the occasions, if not the Authors thereof.

Thirdly, there is such difference and plaine contradiction betweene them and us in judgement, yea in the matter of discipline and Church government, besides many other materiall points of doctrine, as we marvell any men should esteeme us causes of their defections from this Church, much more that any man should write, That between the *Brownists* and others (he meaneth them and us) there is no controversie as touching the framing of a Church by the word of God.

A third sort of our loving Brethren, approving our care of Gods Church, and desire to reclaime poore deceived soules, will yet happily esteeme our labour altogether needlesse and superfluous, as spent and bestowed both against a cause that hath so little shew of truth and semblance of probabilitie, nay so evident appearance of falshood and vanity, as it is rather to be despised then confuted, and also upon men, whose zeale and rashnesse so far prevailes over sound judgement, and discretion, that we shall rather sharpen and increase their humour, (by thinking them worthy answering) to a further contradiction, then either informe their understanding by sound reason, or alter their affection by efficacie of any perswasion.

These Brethren wee desire to give us leave to dissent from them, who judge far otherwise of this cause, wee handle and hope much better of the persons against whom we deale: for the cause it selfe we say, that though it did appeare, as it is indeed full of falshood and and vanitie unto these that have the gift to discern betweene those things that differ, and withall to temper their affections (which is the reason it prevaieth not with any such to their seduction) yet unto men of weak judgements and strong affections, or of more heat then knowledge, it seemeth far otherwise, who are not in our judgements

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to bee contemned and suffered to be so headlongly carried in so violent a course, but rather with compassion to be reclaimed, and with meeknesse to be restored by such as are spirituall; If it please the Lord to give a blessing to their labour so spent and imployed.

Secondly, seeing this *Heresie* of theirs doth not only seeke to untile the House of God built amongst us, nor to breake downe the walls only, but even to overthrow the whole frame thereof, taking away the Pillars whereon it standeth, the preaching of the Word and administration of the Sacraments: Yea digging up the very foundation thereof, and taking *Christ* from us whom (as they say) wee preach not, but denie in all his offices, were the false-hood and blasphemie thereof never so apparant, yet were not the labour needlesse, and superfluous, that is spent in confuting thereof.

Thirdly, Seeing this cause hath been thought to be of such weight and regard, that it hath brought the High Court of Parliament to make a sharp Law for the preventing of the mischiefes thereof, shall it bee thought a matter unnecessary and fruitlesse for Ministers to deale withall, especially where Lawes politicke can but draw the outward man to conformitie which is but Hipocrisie unlesse the Law of God be annexed thereunto for the converting of the soule, and bringing the inward man, to doe that inwardly, and sincerely which outwardly it performeth.

Lastly, Wee have the examples of diverse Learned and godly brethren to warrant our doings, and to perswade us of the necessitie of this labour, who either by commandement from authoritie, or of their own motions by occasions offered unto them, have dealt not only by disputation and conference, but also by writing and printing for the suppression of this Schisme and reclaiming these men. For the persons against whom wee write, though we hold them all to be in a dangerous estate (wee are loath to say in a damnable estate) as long as they continue in this Schisme, and have cause to feare that Satrans subtilties abusing the gifts that are in them, and draw-

ing them to pride, and conceit of themselves hath hardened some of them so in their Schisme, that they will hardly be reclaimed, yet hope we, that as many of them have been brought backe againe to the Church, who strayed away with them, so the rest may in time be brought to a sight of their owne error by good meanes effectually thereunto, such as God hath sanctified to that end, and promised to accompany with the gracious assistance of his holy spirit: This labour therefore of ours, we trust shall not be in vaine, but have that work in them for their recovery by the blessing of God.

If God vouchsafe us not this favour to be happy instruments of their good, yet doubt we not, but he that is witnesse unto our Consciences, how we long after their salvation, yea even from our hearts roots, will be our strength, and our judgment and worke shall be with him; though they bee not gathered.

E/ay 49.4.
5. But if it be remembred that our labours have beene bestowed, not only to raise them that are fallen already; but also to stay them that stagger, and strengthen them that stand upright: though it should be utterly unprofitable unto the former sort; yet being likely to prevaile with others, to their benefit, it cannot but be acceptable unto God, and comfortable unto our selves, and so neither superfluous nor unnecessary.

This now only remaineth (Christian reader) that before we commend this treatise to Gods blessing, we advertise thee of two things needfull for thee to know: First, whereas to many rash and hot spirited men it may seeme, that wee have dealt in this cause too remissly, so that wee have justified the corruptions of our Church, as hath beene objected against others heretofore, We answer, that our dealing may well indeed seem too remisse, whilst the reader shall compare it with over bitter, untrue, yea, and slanderous biting and invectives of our Brethren: but being compared with it selfe, and with our Church, as in it selfe it standeth, we hope it will appeare (sure wee are that our knowledge) wee have not justified the least thing therein worthy to be condemned.

Secondly,

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Secondly, whereas the worke is somewhat long, and therefore somewhat wearisome to the Reader: Know that we desired to be much more brieve therein then wee are, both for that, not the reading so much as the writing of it out by them, that after the reading of it may desire it, must needs be tedious, as also; for that fewer words and reasons might have as well satisfied the learned sort: but whereas our desire is to satisfy the simple, as having more need; by framing divers answers unto the arguments and proofes which we confute, and to make them plaine to their capacity and understanding, wee could not use more brevitie without more obscuritie. And thus we commend thee to God; and to his blessing upon the reading hereof, that it may be a meanes to teach thee to discern the things that differ, and to keepe thee from thy being overmuch just, lest thou become too wicked. *Amen.*

I. Certaine

A Collection of the chiefe Heads, of this book.

I. Certaine exceptions they take, and faults they find within; *viz.* With our,

I. Church in generall and the whole frame of Our Assemblies wch they affirme to bee false and Antichristian, because;

1. They were not rightly gathered, *pag. 8.*
2. They communicate together in an outward worship of God that is polluted with the writings and inventions of men, *pag. 12.*
3. They want the true discipline of Christ, *pag. 17.*
4. They submit themselves to false, and Antichristian discipline, *pag. 19.*
5. They obstinately continue in the aforesaid wants and corruptions, having beene convinced, *pag. 21.*

II. Ministers whom they affirme to bee false and Antichristian.

1. The Office whereunto we are called, is not that wch Christ hath ordained, but that which Antichrist calleth his Priests unto. *pag. 28.*
2. Their entrance is not according to Christs Ordinance, but also Antichristian. *p. 34.*
3. Their administration and exercise of their office, is not according to Christs Ordinance, but Antichristian formes of prayer. *p. 39.*
4. Their maintenance is Iewish, and Antichristian, *viz.* by tythes, &c. *pag. 42.*

III. People and the private members of our Assemblies, whom they say to be such as no true Church, can consist of.

1. Because they are not a separated people from the world. *pag. 50.*
2. They are not Saints faithfull. *pag. 51.*
3. They tollerate the openly prophane. *p. 51.*

Two certaine conclusions, wch they inferre upon the foresaid exceptions *viz.*

1. Therefore the Assemblies wee separate from are such, as the Scriptures doe warrant us to separate from. *pag. 57.*
2. Therefore the Assemblies we joyne unto, are such as the Scriptures doe warrant us to joyne unto. *p. 62.*



THE
Church of *Engl.* is a true Church
OF
CHRIST.

II. EXCEPTION.

The first Exception is against the whole body of our Assemblies and our Church in Generall, which they tearme *Babylonish Synagogues* and a *whorish Idolatrous Church*; Henry Barrow in his discovery of the false Church, Page 24.

A N S W E R.



That the Church of England is a true Church of Christ, and such an one, as from wch whosoever wittingly and willingly separateth himselfe, cutteth himselfe from Christ, wee doubt not but the indifferent Reader may be perswaded by these reasons following.

First; Wee enjoy and joyne together in the use of those outward meanes which God in his Word hath ordained for the gathering of a visible Church: for prooffe whereof wee alleadge, that the meanes which we use and enjoy, have been effectuall to the unfained conversion of many, as may appeare, both by the other fruits

Our Congregations are true Churches
For,

Arg. 1.

We have and joyne: together in the use of the preaching of the Gospell and administration of the Sacraments.

PART I.

of faith, and by the Martyrdome which sundry have endured that were Members of our Church, and had no other means of conversion then such as we have: Yea even those men, who judge so hardly of us now are able to witnesse with us in this case. That if there be any true faith and sanctification in them (though it bee much increased, as they think, since they left us) yet it was begun and bred in our Assemblies.

Secondly, If these places of holy Scripture, *Matth. 28. 20. 28. 11, 14.* bee well examine'd, it will bee found that the means, which Christ ordained for the gathering of a visible Church, are the very same which we enjoy, even the preaching of the word, and administration of the Sacraments. That which *Henry Barrow* saith against us, in this point pag. 160. of his discovery (*viz.*) that there is not any one thing amongst us either in order, or administration according to Christs Testament, shall bee hereafter disproved, when we shall come to justifie our Ministry of the Word and Sacraments against their arguments or Objections whatsoever.

Which is an infallible note of a true Church.

Now that this is an infallible and good argument of a true Church, appeareth: because; First, There cannot any people be named, that, having these means, may yet by the word be evicted not to have bene the true Church. The Papists indeed bragge of these means, but without cause, for the doctrine of faith is not preached amongst them, but oppugned, and consequently they cannot have the true Sacraments which are Seales of righteousness, which is by faith. Secondly, the Scripture every where speaketh of the preaching of the Word, and administration of the Sacraments, as of priviledges peculiar to the Church of God.

So while the *Jews* only were the Church, these priviledges were restrained to them, and never made common to the *Gentiles* till the partition wall being broken downe, they also were incorporated to the Church of God.

So the Prophet saith, that this should be the reason, why the *Gentiles* were moved to joyne themselves unto the true Church, because there and no where else the Ministerie of the Word was to be found.

Secondly, Our whole Church maketh profession of the true faith: The confession of our Church, together with the Apologie thereof, and those Articles of Religion which were agreed upon in the Convocation House, in the Yeare of the Lord 1562. (whereunto every Minister of the Land is bound by Law to subscribe, so farre forth as they concerne the confession of faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments) doe prove this evidently: for how shall wee better judge of the faith which our Church professeth, than by such evidences? Many Papists and Atheists, are in our Land. wee grant, and many ignorant and wicked men besides, who make not so cleere and so holy profession of the true faith, as they should: but

Rom. 3. 12. &

9. 4.

Psalm. 147. 19.

20.

Matth. 10 5 6.

Acts 11. 19.

& 23.

Arg. 2.

that our Church accounteth any one to be her Child, or member, who either denieth Christ, or professeth any other way to salvation, then faith which worketh by love, or who doth not profess this faith in some measure, we confidently deny. Now this reason also hath force sufficient to prove us the true Church; for as true faith in Christ is that which giveth the life and being to such as are effectually called, and so become Members of the Invisible, and Elect Church; so the profession of true faith, is that which giveth life and being to a visible Church: Upon this profession wee finde many that have bene incorporated into the visible Church, and admitted to the priviledges thereof, even by the Apostles themselves: Yea and *Simon Magus*, though he had neither faith, nor the spirit of God, yet because he made profession of faith, was judged a member of the visible Church, and baptized. So the Church of *Pergamus*, though it did tolerate grosse corruptions in it; it kept the faith of Christ, and denied not his faith, and was still called the Church of God.

Act. 8. 37. 38.

16. 31. 32.

12.

Act. 8. 13.

Revel. 3. 12, 13.

The description of a Church, which they give in the page 67. of their collection of Letters and conferences (viz.) *That it is a company of faithful people that truly worship Christ, and readily obey him*; is utterly untrue, if it be understood (as needs it must) of the visible Church; for at every one that the Church may account a visible member, be truly faithful, how is our Saviour to be understood, when he compareth the Church or Ministry to a draw-net, which being cast into the Sea, gathereth as well that which must be cast away, as good Fish: * And to a field, where the Devill doth as busily sow tares, as the Sonne of Man doth good Wheate? * or how shall that difference stand, which the Scripture maketh betwixt the Lords judgment, and the judgment of men, if men may not account any members of the Church by their outward appearance, and profession; unlesse they know them to have true faith? which thing the Lords eye is only able to discern.

See our further answer to this in the defence we make for our people against the second Article of their third exception.

* Math. 13. 47.

48.

* Math. 13. 37

39.

1 Sam. 16. 17.

Acts 13. 28.

1 Cor. 13. 12.

1 Cor. 13. 12.

Arg. 3.

Thirdly, We hold, and teach, and maintaine, against all Heretickes and adversaries, every part and Article of Gods holy truth, which is fundamental, and such, as without the knowledge, and believing whereof, there is no salvation. Our confessions, Catechismes, Articles of Religion, published, and approved of our Church, may perswade all indifferent men of this: Yet was not *Henry Barrow* ashamed to write in the 10th. page of his discovery.

That all the Lawes of God, both of the first, and second Table are here broken, and forsaken, both of the Ecclesiasticall, and Civill estate, and of every particular person in both, all things being innovated in both, according to the lusts and pleasures of men, the Law, and Word of God being quite rejected and cast aside.

And in the 212. page of their refutation of Master Gifford, They

PART I.

have these words; We hold that you have poisoned all the fountains of sincere doctrine, and perverted the whole Testament, and turned away the practise thereof by your damnable false expositions: Yea, that you teach not one point sincerely. And in the 162. page of this discovery. They are made contrary one to another, as it is an impossible thing, to finde two of them in one minde; yea, or any one of them constant in that he affirmeth, they know not the Doctrine even of the beginning of Christ. Adde hereto Henry Barrow's words, 12. and 23. pages of their collections of Letters, and conference. We will not give any answer to these speeches, but onely desire the Christian Reader to consider, whether ever Go's Spirit taught any to write so slanderously; not onely against a whole Nation, (the conversion whereof they pretend to seeke) but against the blessed Truth of God; And how unlikely it is that they should bee in the right way, whose chiefe leaders were guided by such a spirit: That they should be the Lords building, whose first founders and Master builders, had either so small skill, or so bad a Conscience: Doe we not hold all the same books of Canonically Scriptures which they themselves doe? Doe wee not reject out of the Canon all which themselves account Apochryphall? Have they any translation of holy Scripture besides ours? Doe they themselves beleeve, or teach otherwise in the Articles of the holy Trinity, of justification, of predestination then wee doe? Hath every member of their Assemblies recovered that spirit of truth, whereby they are led into all truth; as Henry Barrow, page 167. of his discovery affirmeth? And is there not any one amongst us that hath not quite rejected the whole Word of God? Not any one that knoweth the doctrine even of the beginning of Christ? We know no better way to convince them in this, then by appealing unto their Consciences, which we are sure will take our parts against them.

Now this reason also is strong to prove us a true Church, for although the bare letter of the Scripture may be found amongst the Jewes and Papists, and other Heretickes. Yet was there never any people, that held and maintained the true sence of the Scripture, in all points fundamentall, but only the Church of God, whereunto onely this title belongeth to bee the pillar and ground of truth: wherein wee desire the Reader to consider that a people may be the true Church, though they know not, nor hold not every truth contained in the holy Scriptures, but contrarily hold many errors repugnant to the Scriptures. Yet hath Henry Barrow affirmed in the 167. page of his discovery: That to the people of God, and every one of them, God hath given his holy sanctifying spirit, to open unto them, and leade them unto all truth. Whereby it is most evident, that he would have none to be accounted the people and Church of God, who either know not, or practise not every truth contained in the holy Scriptures. In which opinion, see, I pray you, how grosse and dangerous errors are contained,

Which none
can doe but the
true Church.

Tim. 3. 15.
A people may
bee a true
Church though
they know not
nor hold
every truth
contained in
the Scriptures.

First, That to every inferiour member in the Church, there is as much reveiled as to the Pastors, and chiefe members, whereas the Apostle affirmeth, that the Holy Ghost is given to every member of the body of Christ, not equally, but proportionably, as the place, which it occupieth in the body, doth require. PART. I.
Romans 12.3.
Ephes 4.16.
Col. 2.19.

Secondly, That the promise mentioned, *John 16.13.* Should be made to every member of the Church: which in the last words of the verse appeareth plainly to be particular to the Apostles.

Thirdly, That the Church cannot erre: and so neither were the *Corinthians* rightly called the Church of God, when they judged corruptly of fornication, and of the Resurrection: Neither they of *Pergamus* when the Doctrine of *Balaam* was maintained among them: Neither were *Paul*, and the rest of the Apostles, true Members of the Church, who (though in the exercises of their Apostolicall function, they could not erre) yet knew but in part and in many things were subject to error. (^a)

Another strange opinion is amongst them maintained in the 156, 157. of the discovery. (viz.) That every truth contained in the Scriptures is fundamental: For (although we assume not (as he there slandereth us) That some parts of Scripture is more holy, more authentickall or more true than other. Yet doubt we not to say, that some parts are of more use, and more necessary for men to know then, other some. Else, why doth the Holy Ghost oft give speciall commendation to some parts, more than to other: why doth he (as it were) make Proclamation, and solemne oyesles before some, and not before other? Why doth hee use a speciall art in some parts, rather than in other? And although wee doe not hold (as they falsly charge us in the forenamed page of their discovery) That some parts of holy Scripture are of small moment, superficiall, needlesse, and of no necessity: such as may be altered and violated without any prejudice, or danger at all to the soule, and much lesse that a man that hath obstinately continued in the transgression of some parts, and openly taught the same unto others, may be undoubtedly saved, though he die without Repentance: but on the contrary wee beleeve, and teach that there is no part of holy Scripture, which every Christian is not necessarily bound to seeke, and desire the knowledge of, so farre forth as in him lieth: yet dare wee not call every truth fundamentall, that is, such as if it be not obeyed and known, the whole Religion, and faith of the Church must needs fall to the ground. For we doe make no question, but that the thiefe that was crucified, and the Eunuch even then when he was baptized by *Philip*, were in the state of salvation, though they could not choole but bee ignorant of many truths in Religion.

The only fundamentall truth in Religion, is this, That *Jesus Christ* the

PART. I. the Sonne of God, who took our nature of the Virgin *Mary*, is our only and all-sufficient Saviour. For first, they that receive this truth are the people of God, and in the state of salvation, they that receive it not, cannot possibly bee saved. ^(a) Secondly, There is no other point of Christian Religion necessary, otherwise then as it tendeth necessary to the bringing us unto, or confirming us in the assurance of this one truth ^(b) and therefore when the Apostle saith that the Church is built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles; his meaning is not to call every thing contained in their writings, the foundation of the Church. But that this foundation wee have spoken of, is there to be found, and hath witnesses from thence, and that all the writings, and doctrines of the Apostles and Prophets doe bend unto, stay and rest upon this one truth, as the walls in the building, upon the chiefe corner stone.

- (a) *Mat.* 16. 17.
104. 2.
Col. 3. 17.
John 20. 31.
Ephes. 2. 20.
(b) *Heb.* 13. 8.
1 Cor. 2. 2.
Ephes. 2. 19, 22.

Arg. 4.
All reformed
Churches give
the Testimony
to us,

Lastly, All the knowne Churches in the world acknowledge our Church for their Sister, and give unto us the right hand of fellowship. This *Henry Barrow*, and *John Greene-Wood* denie in their 14. page of their refutation; but they name not any one Church that maketh question of us, whether wee were the true Church or no: never yet was there any reformed Church made that question. They are well acquainted with our Church, by the report of them that have travelled from hence and sundry other wayes, with our doctrine and Lyturgie, our wants and corruptions every one. Neither doe they only forbear to shew their dislike to us, or are content to preserve society with us, which happily through humane infirmities, they might doe upon smaller respects (though they approved not of us in judgment, but they doe also hold and teach, that what people soever hath so much as we, is the true Church, though the wants and corruptions are as great as ours are.

Which strongly
argueth that
we are the true
Church.

- Now when we alledge for our selves the testimonies of the Churches, we doe not thereby (as these men fondly conclude in the 14. page of their refutation) make the word of men, the foundation of our Church; Nor doe we use these as our only and chiefe defence; whereby we seek to approve our selves either unto the Lord, or to the Consciences of his people; but such an argument wee take this to bee, as in his due place, hath much force in it; and as God Himselfe hath sanctified for a principall help in deciding of controversies in this kinde, the Apostles use to alledge it as a matter of comfort to them whom they write unto, that the Churches of Christ salute them ^(a) that they were famous and had the good report of the Churches ^(b) *Saint Paul* though hee received not his calling, either from men, or by men ^(c) nor was any whit inferior to the chiefe Apostles ^(d) yet doth he alledge for the credit of his ministry, that the chiefe Apostles approved him, and gave to him the right hand of fellowship; Yea, he sought also their approbation, and feared, that without it,

- (a) *Rom.* 16.
16.
1 Pet. 5. 13.
(b) *Rom.* 16.
19.
1 Cor. 8. 18, 19.
23. 24.
Gal. 1. 2.
(d) *1 Cor.* 12.
11.
(e) *Gal.* 2. 9.
(f) *Gal.* 2. 2.

he should have runne in vaine. And which is yet more, he seeketh to win commendation and credit, even to those which he by his Apostolicall authority, might have established by the example and judgment of other Churches: If those Churches, which were planted by the Apostles themselves, might take comfort in the good opinion that other Churches had of them: May not we much more? If the Ministry of *Paul*, and orders he prescribed to the Church, received further credit by the approbation of the Churches: Then their approbations give some credit to the ministerie and orders of the Church now.

The doctrine and word of God (though to speake properly it received authoritie onely from it selfe, and the Spirit of God) yet hath it ever beene the rather received by men, for the testimony the Church hath given unto it. So our Saviour Christ saith, *Thou wisdome is justified of her children*, and although he affirmeth, that he received not the record of men; Yet in respect of the salvation and good of men, he judgeth it necessary, that *Iohn Baptist* should give Testimony unto him. Now if this one thing furthered the damnation of the unbelieving *Iewes*, that they would not heare nor receive Christ, though testimony were given of him by one whom they knew to be sent of God: shall not this further the condemnation of these men, that they refuse to heare, and receive us, though we be commended unto them by the testimony of so many Churches of God? Some cases there bee wherein wee are commanded to heare for the judgment of the Churches, and to account it the judgment of God, else why did the Church at Antioch in a question that could not be debated at home, send to the Church at Jerusalem, for helpe especially, seeing they had two such excellent men with them as *Paul* and *Barnabas*, whose judgments they might safely have trusted unto: (d) saith our Saviour, that whatsoever they binde on earth, shall be bound also in heaven, (e) and saith he not also to Churches of other Nations? Shall he be accounted as an heathen, or a Publican, that will not regard the judgment and censure of the particular Congregation, whereof hee is a member (f) and shall they not be much more accounted so, that despise the judgment of all the Churches? Must the spirits of the Prophets be subject to the Prophets, amongst whom we live (g) and must not both people and Prophets be subject to all the Prophets and Churches in the world? The abilitie to trie and discern the spirits and doctrines of such teachers as arise in the Church is such a gift as the true Church never wanted (h) neither could it bee the pillar and ground of truth (i) if it should be ignorant of a truth, so necessary to the salvation of men as this is, (viz.) What people is accounted to be the true Church of God: if God hath given his Church power to judge and pronounce a particular man, that he is in the state of salvation, and that so infallibly, that he hath promised to ratifie in heaven, the judgment which the Church

PART. I.

Math. 11. 19.
Isa. 5. 34.

John 1. 7, 8,
5. 33, 34.

(d) Acts 15. 2
(e) Matt. 18
18.

(f) Matt. 18.
17.

1 Cor. 14. 32.

(h) 1 Ioh. 4. 2.
Revel. 2. 2.

(i) 1 Tim. 3.
15.

PART. I. Church shall in this case give upon earth (k) may it not bee said that he hath much more made the Church able to discern and pronounce of a Congregation or people, that is a true visible Church, which is a matter of no such difficultie as the other? So that to conclude, though those men make so light of the Judgment and testimony of other Churches, as if the Word of God had come out from them onely, or, as if themselves were able to judge of us better than all the godly learned besides; Yet doe we take much comfort and assurance from hence, that we are the true Church of God. Now it remains that we answer such reasons, as are objected against our Church by them.

(k) Math. 18
18.

1 Cor. 14 36.

Objections answered.

Object. I.

The objection against the whole body of our Church, is that it was not rightly gathered.

THE first thing that they object against our Church, and our parish assemblies, is this; *That it was not rightly gathered by such means as God in his Word hath ordained and sanctified for the gathering of his Church.* For saith Henry Barrow, in the 10th page of his discovery. *All the people were in one day, with the blast of Queen Elizabeths Trumpet, of ignorant persons, and grosse Idolaters made faithful Christians, and true Protestants.* And in the third page of that Epistle to the Reader, which they have prefixed to their refutation of Master Gifford, they have these words. *Where such prophane multitudes were immediately changed from publicke Idolaters and on an instant received, or rather compelled to be members of the Church, in some parish or other. Without any due calling as the faith, by the preaching of the Gospel going before, or ordering joining together in the faith, there being no voluntary, or particular confession of their own faith and duties, made nor required of any, who can say, that those Churches were ever rightly gathered, or built according to the Rule of CHRISTs Testament?*

ANSWER, I.

To all that they thus object against our first gathering this answer, we give.

First, That we might bee counted a true Church, though it could not appear that we were at the first rightly gathered, for even as the Disciples might be well assured of Christs bodily presence, when they saw and felt him, though they could not perceive which way, or how he could possibly come in, so may we esteeme them a true Church, of whose present profession

session and faith, wee are well assured though wee cannot see by what means they were first gathered; Else wee may still doubt, whether *Melchisedech* and the families of *Isab*, were true Churches and members of the Church, because how they were first gathered, and made a Church, or of whom we know not; and yet we are now certainly perswaded that they are a Church. Nay, wee finde good warrant in the Word to the contrary, for we reade of many, (who having by that they heard, and saw) perceived evidently, that a people were the Church of God, did joyne themselves willingly unto them, without enquiring how they were gathered or converted, as *Abraham* to *Melchisedech*, *Rahab* to *Israel*, the Eunuch to *Philip*, the Gaoler to *Paul* and *Silas*.

Secondly, Wee might be rightly gathered to the Societie, and fellowship of the visible Church, by other means then by the preaching of the Gospell: for prooffe whereof, we allege their owne judgment and opinion, (which howsoever it be, yet hath force enough to stop their mouthes) namely, that men may bee won to the true faith of Christ, not extraordinarily, but even ordinarily, also by other means than the publicke and ministeriall preaching of the Word. For if severall Members may bee converted without this meanes, may not they much rather without it bee gathered together, and made an assembly?

Secondly, Admit there were no other means, whereby a man could be soundly converted, but only preaching: Yet it is evident, that by some other meanes, men may bee lawfully brought to an outward profession, and so made a visible Church. Many in the dayes of Christ were prepared to heare and believe, and did also follow him, and professe themselves his Disciples, that no man could, without sinne, have denied them to bee members of the visible Church, who yet were not all drawne by his word: But some by his Miracle, (a) some by the report they heard of him (b) some by desire (c) they had to be fed by him. Some Kings became nursing Fathers, and Queenes nursing Mothers to the Church, their Lawes have beene meanes to bring men to outward societie of the Church. And the practise of *Iosiah* proveth, that men may bee compelled by the Magistrate, to serve the Lord. (d) Now as many hearing of the fame of *Iohn Baptist*, and of *Christ* came unto them, and so were converted by their preaching: so many that for feare of the Law, were first brought to the Church, and outward profession of the truth have beene and are effectually converted by the ministry of the Word.

Thirdly, Our Church was gathered by the preaching of the Word.

D

For

Secondlie, We might be gathered to an outward profession, and to the societie of the visible Church by some other meanes, then by preaching of the Word. Confutation of Mr. Gifford page 152. and in the collection of slanderous Articles, page 44, 45.

(a) *Iohn* 2. 23.

24.

(b) *Iohn* 4. 39.

(c) *Iohn* 6. 24.

26.

(d) *Chrys.* 34.

32. 33.

Thirdlie, Our Churches were first converted, and gathered by teaching of the Word.

PART I.

For, the first conversion of the faithfull of our Land, was by the preaching of the Gospell, as is manifested by the testimonies of the best approved Histories; Since that time, many have beene from age to age, called by the same means, as by the ministerie of Master *Wickliffe*, and such like, for proofe whereof this may serve that in most of the Kings daies there have beene some, which have endured Martyrdome for the truth. These secret ones did gather others secretly, so long as persecution continued, and shewed themselves openly, when libertie was granted; In the daies of King *Edward*, great numbers were by preaching, so effectually called, that in *Queene Maries* Reigne, many simple men and women, were able to maintaine the truth, against the learnedst Papists, and to seale it with their blood. Besides them, there were many secret Congregations in many parts of the Land, all the daies of *Queene Marie*, which gladly received, and openly professed the Gospell offered unto them, by publicke authoritie, at her Majesties entrance to the Crowne. If it bee said, that they ceased to bee the true Churches of Christ: because they joyned themselves, and became one body, with such as were newly come from Idolatry, (and that not of conscience, but for feare onely:) we answer; that they rather, that were fallen from the Gospell in *Queene Maries* daies, were moved by *Queene Elizabeths* Proclamation, to joyne themselves unto them, that had stood faithfull all that while: Neither is it truly said of them, that in one day, by the blast of Her Majesties Trumpet, at the beginning of her Reigne, all sorts of men were drawne to a profession of the Gospell, without any further meanes used, for before any were compelled to the profession of the Gospell; which was not till Midsomer, after her Majestie came to the Crowne, there were not onely many Commissioners sent unto all the parts of the Land, that they might deface all the monuments of Idolatry, but sundry Preachers also, which in the daies of *Queene Mary*, had received approbation, and exercised their ministerie in some of the best reformed Churches beyond the Seas, did by their doctrine both keepe them, whom they found converted in the profession of the truth, and called many others, of which number we may reckon, Master *Knox*, *Leave*, *Gilbie*, *Sampson*, *Whittingham*, *Goodman*; and sundry others. And there were daily added to the Church, by no other means, then by the ministerie of the Word preached. So that if this were a good reason against other particular members, or whole families, yet it cannot justify a separation from all, seeing wee have manie that by the preaching of the word of God, were converted and gathered.

Fourthly, This being proved that there was a true Church in the Land before Her Majesties Reigne, the question must not be whether the meanes she used, were the right meanes for the calling, and converting a people to the faith, but whether she tooke a lawfull course for recalling, and reuniting of Her Subjects unto those true professors whole fellowship they had forsaken; this was the course which *Jehosaphat* tooke, ^(a) who (to gather the Church which was divided) sent preachers into sundry parts of his Kingdome, and appointed Noble men to accompany and assist them by countenancing their ministry, and compelling the people to heare them.

This course also did *Iosiah* take, who having abolished Idolatry compelled all his subjects to the service of the true God; ^(b) Thus did *Asa* use his authority, in commanding *Juda* to seeke the Lord, and to doe according to the Law, and Commandement, and threatening them with death, that should refuse: So did *Hozekiah* by his Proclamation bring divers of *Israel* to *Ierusalem*, who were before separated from the Church of God. ^(c)

Fifthly, Whereas they say, that at the beginning of her Majesties Reigne, the people should have beene required with solemne oath and covenant to renounee Idolatry, and to profess faith, and true obedience to the Gospell, after the example of *Asas* reformation; We answer.

First, If it had beene absolutely necessary to the being of a Church that there should be such a solemne covenant by oath, to renounee Idolatry; this course should be taken in that reformation which *Jehosaphat* and *Iosiah* made, as well as that which *Asa* made.

Secondly, even where this oath was taken, it was Gods true Church before the time of that oath and covenant made by *Asa*, wee read it was made and taken in the 15. yeere of his Reigne, when yet his subjects were the true Church long before.

Secondly, There be diverse congregations in our Land, which in the beginning of her Majesties dayes, and since, have publicly professed their repentance, for their former Idolatry, and promised to embrace and obey the truth, as it is presently established; as in *Coventry*, *Northampton*, and some other places. Yea, we doubt not to affirme, that the whole Land; In the Parliament, holden in the first yeare of her Majesties Reigne, did enter into a solemne covenant with the Lord, for the renouncing of Popery and reclaiming the Gospell.

PART I.

Fourthly though the meanes used for the gathering our Church had not beene sufficient for the first calling a people to the faith, yet were the sufficient for the recalling of the people that had fallen from the faith which formerly they had professed,
a 2^d Chro. 17. 8.
b 2^d Chro. 34. 33.
c 2^d Chro. 14. 4.
2^d Chro. 15. 13.
c Chro. 30. 12.

PART I.

OBJECT. II.

Object.

The second
Objection a-
gainst the
whole body of
our Church is,
that it useth a
worship of God
which is pollu-
ted with the
writings of
men, as, read,
stinted prayers.

Answer.

f Numb. 6. 23,

24

g Deut. 26. 13,

15.

h Psalme 22. 1.

i Psalme 92.

k 1 Chro. 16. 8,

36.

l Matth. 6. 9.

l Luke 11. 2.

*Object.**Answer.*

The second thing they object against the whole body of our Assemblies is this: *That they communicate together in a false and Idolatrous worship of God, which is polluted with the writings of men, (viz.) With read stinted prayers, Homilies, Carechismes, and such like;* which in the 24. page of their refutation, they call the smoake of the bottomlesse pit.

To this Objection we give this answer. First, That it is evident by the Word, that the Church hath used, and might use lawfully in Gods worship, and prayer, a stinted form of words: for we find a forme of blessing the people prescribed to the Priests; a forme of confession to be used at the bringing of the first fruits to the Temple prescribed to the people, g A psalme appointed for the Priests, and Levites, to use every Morning. h Another to be used every Sabbath day: i So in the thanksgiving used at the bringing home of the Arke, unto the place prepared for it by David, the Church tyed themselves to the very words of 105. and 96. Psalmes; k and as one Evangelist reporteth, that our Saviour appointed that prayer which he gave to His Disciples to be a patterne to frame all other prayers by. l So the other Evangelist reporteth, that he bad them when they prayed, say, *Our Father, &c.* Which he would never have done, if it had not beene lawfull for us in making those petitions to God, to use those very words which are there prescribed.

Now to that, *they object against this, that we never read, the Apostles did use this prescript forms of words in prayer.*

We answer, That it is absurd negatively to prove from examples of men, against that which God in His Word so expressly, either commanded, or permitted; for we may as well reason thus: That we doe not reade that the Apostles, or the Church in their time, did baptize Infants. *Ergo*, They were not then baptized: or thus, We doe not read, that the Apostles did pray, either before, or after they preached, *Ergo*, They did not: Or thus, Saint Paul did not marry, nor take maintenance from the *Corinthians*, *Ergo* he might not lawfully have done it. The most Psalmes, that David made, as they were committed to the Church Musicians; That in singing them, were tied to the very words that David set downe; so they were not sung as Meditations and doctrines for the instruction of the Church, but as prayers unto God. This is evident not onely by the manifold petitions and thanksgivings unto God, that are, to be found in them, but by this especially, that they are said to be sung unto the Lord.

And

And as by that which hath beene said, it may appeare that set and prescript formes are lawfull in those prayers and thanksgivings that are used upon ordinary occasions; So it is also evident, that they may be lawfully used even in those prayers, and thanksgivings, that (being taken up) on extraordinary occasions, doe require an extraordinary, and speciall fervencie of the spirit, for which we have the example of our Saviour Christ Himselfe, who used the very same words three times severally; even in that prayer, which hee made with all holy excess of fervent affection.

And this may lawfully be done, not only in those formes which we frame and devise our selves, but in them also which we finde to have bin used by the good servants of God in former times, upon the like occasions to those that befall us now. So *Salomon* useth, in the Dedication of the Temple, that very Psalm which *David* vowed to use at the bringing of the Arke to his house; and in the bringing of the Tabernacle and holy Vessells into the House of God, he useth the same words of another Psalm. So *Jehosaphat* useth the same words of the same Psalm, in that excellent thanksgiving which he maketh to God. *Hezekiah* caused thanks to be given, in the same words unto God, as *David*, and *Asaph* had used before. Yea, this manner of praying, and praising in set and prescript formes of words, even upon extraordinary occasions, we finde directly commanded sundry times. So the Prophets expressly set forth what words should be used among the people:

And which is yet more, we finde a set, and prescript form of words to be used in extraordinary occasions, appointed long before that those occasions fell out. So we read of a forme of thanksgiving, appointed to be used by the Church at Christs coming; and *Salomon*, prescribeth a forme of confession, to be used by the Church in captivitie, which forme *Daniel* in the name of the Church used. So *Jeremias* appointeth the 136. Psalm to be used by the people, for a forme of thanksgiving, after their returne from captivitie, which was also used accordingly by them: whereupon this will follow, that unless they can take exception, to the matter of our prayers (which shall afterwards be considered of) they may not blame us for the stinted and prescript forme of prayers we use, and that if we want fervencie of spirit, in our prayers, the fault is to be imputed to the corruption of our owne hearts, and not to the prescript formes we use.

Concerning the Catechismes used in our Church, we answer; first, it is evident by the Scripture, that the Church hath for the instruction of the people, not only taught, and delivered the holy Scriptures them-

PART. I.

Secondly, A stinted and set forme of words is lawfull, even to the extraordinary prayers.

Mat. 26. 42. 44.

Thirdly, It is lawfull to tie our selves (in prayer) even to that forme of words which have beene devised and used by others.

1 Chron. 6. 41. 42.

Psalm. 132. 8. 10.

2 Chron. 5. 13.

Psalm. 136. 1.

Psalm. 136. 1.

2 Chron. 20. 31.

2 Chron. 29. 30.

4. A prescript

forme of words

hath beene some

times comman-

ded to be used

in extraordinary

occasions.

Hesai. 14. 32.

Ierl. 2. 17.

Fourthly, it hath

sometimes beene

prescribed long

before the occa-

sions fell out.

Esa. 12. 3. 4.

1 King. 8. 47.

Daniel. 9. 5.

Ier. 33. 11.

Ezra. 3. 11.

That also which they object against our Catechismes is of no force, for first, it is lawfull to collect out of the word, and to teach in order the principles of Religion.

PART. I.

1 Rom. 2, 10. &
6, 17.

2 Tim. 1, 13.

Heb. 5, 12, 13,

14, & 6, 1, 2,

Secondly, it is

also lawfull to

require of the

hearers an ac-

count which is

also thus

taught.

Luke 2, 46, 47.

Mat. 13, 36, 51

Mark, 9, 28.

30, 31.

Thirdly the

hearer may

lawfully give

account of the

doctrine in the

selfe same

words wherein

it was taught.

Fourthly he

may lawfully

have copies

of these prin-

ciples in writ-

ing or print.

That which they

object against

our forms (*viz*)

that we con-

ceive them not

our selves, but

they are devi-

sed & imposed

by others, is al-

so of no mo-

ment, for it is

lawfull to use

these formes

not only that

are in the

word, but such

as men have

devised, &c.

pag. 204.

selves, and tied themselves in their teaching, to the very words, and frame thereof) but hath also ever had, and used to teach abridgements, summes of their principles of Religion, collected out of the Scriptures, and this wee thinke will be evident to such as in the feare of God and desire to know the truth, shall well weigh and consider these places:

And as the Scripture proveth this warrantable, so reason it selfe, and common experience teacheth, that it is a great help in all knowledge, to have short summes of that we would learne, in our view, and prospect represented to us, and to have that in order taught, that we would bee instructed in. So is the Saylor holpen by his Card, the Traveller by his Map, and the most cunning workman, by his patterne he draweth before he beginneth his worke. So he that teacheth children, beginneth with the Letters; and hee that buildeth an house, with the founda-

Secondly, It is also evident, that in teaching these principles (as well as in the other kinde of instructions) Christ and his Holy Apostles have bene wont to require of their hearers, that they should relound, and give account of the principles of Religion, thus taught in order, as appeareth by the notation of the Greeke word, *ἐκτείνω*, which is used in all these places, *Luke 14. 47. 18. 28. 1 Cor. 14. 19. Galath 6. 6.* as also by the practise of the Jewish Church, which our Saviour by his presence approved and by his owne practise also, and which, (following his example) some of the Apostles did.

Thirdly, If Ministers may (as wee have proved) in regard of the particular state of their people, collect such abridgements, and require the people to relound them; then it cannot be unlawfull, for the people to relound the doctrine in the selfe same words, wherein it was taught.

Fourthly, This being so, it cannot but be lawfull, and profitable for the people, to have the Catechismes, and summes delivered them in writing, or in print, that they may the better read, and learne them.

Seeing we may have formes, both of prayers and Catechismes, we see not how this can condemne the formes which wee use, *viz*, That in compiling, and collecting them, the invention; and such other gifts of men are used, seeing there is liberty left to the Church to doe many things, that tend onely to the setting forth of Gods Ordinances, (as themselves confesse) and in the preaching of the Word, and in those prayers which they call conceived praier, the wit, memory, judgment, and such other humane gifts, are lawfully, and necessarily used; especially considering that the peoples understanding; and memory, may bee the better helped, by that they are well acquainted with them by the other.

If (we may use lawfully (as we see we may) even such formes as were collected by men, and that these formes doe not any way staine or prejudice the fervencie of the spirit, then doubt we not, but these formes that have beene set downe by men of better gifts, may as lawfully be used of them, who thoroughly conceive the meaning and truth of them, as those which the Minister deviseth himselfe.

If formes thus devised by men be found to be lawfull and profitable, what sinne can it bee, for the Governours of the Church, to command that such formes bee used; or for us that are perswaded of the lawfulness of them being imposed, unlesse they will say, that therefore it is unlawfull for us to heare the word, receive the Sacraments, beleve the Trinitie, and all other Articles of the faith; because wee are commanded by the Magistrates so to doe: whereas indeed we ought the rather to doe good things that are agreeable unto the Word, when wee know them to be also commanded by the Christian Magistrate.

Though we are perswaded by the former reason, to think that stinted formes, are so farre from being simply unlawfull, as in that, in the ordinary and generall occasions of the whole Church, they are many times, more fit, then those, that are called conceived prayers. Yet it is well knowne that our Law alloweth, and our preachers, also doe use prayers conceived, which we in some cases, doe judge more fit to stirre up, and expresse the groanes, and sighes of the spirit, then those prayers doe wherein we tie our selves to prescript words.

But why doe wee seeke to justify our prescript Lyturgie, before these men, who speake as scornfully, and profanely of our conceived prayers, as they can possibly doe of those which wee read? For when Henry Barrow had derided and flouted those that use onely read prayers; hee breaketh out into these speeches, in the 37. page of his discovery, that other smooth hypocrites: yet as grosse idolaters, use this, (viz.) the Lords prayer, as a clause, or supply, to their long, and prolix prayers conceived before, whereby it should seeme, that their hatred to us, (rather then to our corruptions) is so great, as that, whatsoever wee doe will displease them.

Concerning Homilies, this answer wee give; That though wee thinke it is not simply unlawfull, to reade in our Assemblies such Homilies, as are for the matter sound and good: yet in regard of the dangerous inconveniences, that may come, by using them by so many Ministers and Congregations in the Land, doe utterly dislike all publike use of them: as that we wonder that these men are not ashamed to use this as a reason of their separation from the whole Church.

PART. I.
Secondlie, It is lawfull so: Ministers to use such formes as have beene devised by men of better gifts then themselves.
Thirdlie, It is lawfull to use such good formes as are imposed by authority.

Yet we doe grant that in some cases conceived prayers, are more fit then other.

The reasons they bring against us for Homilies is of no force.

PART. I.

If to have a
prescript form
of Lyrurgie
were Idola-
trous yet
might we be
the true Church
for all that.

2 Deut. 12. 2.

1 King 11. 8. 9

1 King 15. 14.

2 King 15. 4.

2 King 18. 4.

2 King 13. 6.

1 Deut. 5. 8. 9.

1 Chro. 28. 10.

Revel. 22. 19.

Prov. 30. 5. 6.

Deut. 4. 32.

Revel. 22. 18. 19.

Matth. 15. 9.

Col. 2. 20. 21.

But what if all this were granted, that the use of our stined pray-
ers, Catechismes, and Homilies were Idolatrous, which yet we have
proved to be other wise; will it from thence follow, that we are not the
true Church? Is this a greater corruption in the worship of God, then
the retaining of his places, against which there is so expresse a com-
mandement, ^a or then the burning Incense to the Brazen Serpent?
^b and yet it is evident, that the one of these was retained in the dayes of
Asa and Azariah Kings of Judah, and the other, even till Hezekiah
Reigne: in which time notwithstanding, it is manifest there was
true Church in Judah.

The testimony of Scripture, which they quote in the page 68. of
the collection of Letters and Conferences: and in the 144. page of
their refutations against our prescript Lyrurgie, are such as either tend
generally to the condemning of Idolatry, ^c or such as forbid us to add
any thing to the Word of God.

To the first sort, we answer: that they have not yet proved our Ly-
turgie Idolatry. Secondly, if they had, yet cannot they by these te-
stimonies conclude, that therefore they that use it are not the true
Church.

To the other sort of Testimonies, this we say, that we add not our
Lyrurgie unto the Word of God, nor make it of equall authoritie with
it: neither doe we use it to the same ends, and purposes, that we doe
the Scripture.

Secondly, Wee doe wonder, with what judgment, or Conscience,
they can blame us for adding to the word by our Lyrurgie, who will at
no hand allow us to use, as prayers, any of the formes that are set down
in the Scripture.

The reasons also against all formes of Lyrurgie, are good and weak,
though they seeme to collect them from the Scriptures, for wee have a-
bove proved, that God may be worshipped spiritually, and fervently,
even in that prayer, wherein a set and prescript forme of words are
used.

Secondly, That this is no good reason, the Apostles are not read, to
have used any set forme of prayer themselves: or to have prescribed any
to the Churches. Ergo, they did not use, or prescribe any, or Ergo, the
Church might not.

Thirdly, Wee see not why they may not as strongly reason, the spi-
rit helpeth our infirmities, and wee have received that anointing, and
therefore we need not, nor may not use any outward helps, for our con-
solation and instruction, or for the subduing of our corruptions: as this,
the spirit helps our infirmities, &c. and we have received that anointing,

Ergo,

The reasons
against all
formes of Ly-
turgie are
weake and set
downe in the
43. page of the
collection of
slanderous Ar-
ticles.

John 4. 23. C

Rom. 8. 26.

1 John 2. 27.

1 Cor. 3. 11, 12

First, we need not, nor may not use any prescript formes of words, as **PART. I.** helps in our prayers.

OBJECT. III.

The third thing they object against the whole bodie of the Church, is this: *That we want that discipline, and order, which Christ in his Testament hath appointed for the governments of the Church: for neither have we (say they) the power to binde or to loose; nor those officers by whom the censures of Christ should be exercised; Yea saith, Henry Barrow, in the 160. page of his discoverie; You have not any one thing, order, or administration, according to his Testament.* And in the 188. page, such places of Scripture as make expresse mention of Christs discipline, as *Rom. 12. 1 Cor. 15. and 12. 2 Cor. 2. Ephes. 4. 1 Thes. 3. and 1 Tim. 5. 1.* are not saith he, *suffered so much, as to be read in the Church; much lesse to be sincerely expounded: from these premises, see what a conclusion, he in the 27. page of his discovery, inferreth, without the power (saith hee) and practise of shew diligence watch of every Member: but especially of the Elders, the Word of God is made an Idoll, the Sacraments sacriledge unto us, and all things we do, odious and abominable unto the Lord.*

To this third Objection, this answer we give.

First, whereas the discipline of Christ, consisteth in two things, (*viz.*) what works and duties, Christ would have performed, for the ordering and government of his Church, and by what persons and Officers hee would have these duties exercised: We affirme, that for as much as all these workes, (*viz.*) preaching of the Word, and administration of the Sacraments, the censures of admonition, suspension, excommunication, and provision for the necessitie of the poore, are in many of our Assemblies performed, and by Law ought to be in all, that therefore we cannot justlie be said to be without the discipline of Christ, but rather that we having the discipline of Christ, which is most substantiall, doe want the other, and so exercise it not rightlie; that is to say, not by those Officers, which Christ hath appointed.

Secondly, It is well knowne, that the chiefe works and discipline; namely the preaching of the Word, and administration of the Sacraments, and consequentlie, the principall part of that power, to binde and loose, which Christ gave to his Church, is not only exercised in manie of our Assemblies; but exercised also, by those very Officers which Christ hath appointed for us: the Lawes of our land doe authorize the Minister to stiae from the Lords Table, all such as are uncatechized,

Object.

The third Objection against the whole body of our Church, is, that we want Christs Discipline.

Ans.

The first part of Christs Discipline which is most substantiall we have 1. For the works and duties which hee would have performed in the government of his Church, are all one in our assemblies. Discipline not exercised rightlie.

Secondly, The chiefe workes of Christs Discipline are exercised with us even by those Officers that he appointed.

PART. I.

and out of charitie, or any otherwile publick offenders, (as appeareth in the Rubrick before the Communion, and in that which is after confirmation) And from whence else commeth the trouble of many of our Ministers, but from the exercising of this authoritie, even from the suspending of the ungodly from the Sacrament, and stinging their consciences by the preaching of the word?

Thirdly, Though none of our Assemblies did use this power, it followeth not from thence, that we have it not: No more than it doth follow, that the rich church hath no monie, because he useth none, and that a man therefore hath no authoritie, because hee doth not exercise any.

Fourthly, Admit we were not able (through want of knowledge and courage) to use this power: Yet followeth it not, that therefore wee want the right, and authoritie to use it: For if those Churches which the Prophet reproveth, * for putting no difference between the holy and prophane, or that which the Apostle blameth, for not putting the incestuous person from among them: had they wanted authoritie, to use this power, how could they justlie have beene reprov'd, for neglecting the exercising thereof?

Lastly, Though it were granted, that we wanted both the exercise of the Churches censures, and some of those Officers, which our Saviour hath appointed to exercise them by: Yet might wee bee a true visible Church notwithstanding: there was a true Church in *Judah*, all the daies of *Asa*, and *Jehosaphat*, * yet was not the discipline reformed there, till the latter daies of *Jehosaphats* Reigne. † That also was a true Church, even then when the Apostles found this fault with them, ‡ the Congregation at *Samaritah* is called a Church before the discipline was established there. And even in *Jerusalem* there was a famous visible Church of Christ long before many parts of the discipline (the want whereof they condemne) were established there, yea it is evident, that by the Apostles themselves diverse Churches were gathered, some good space of time, before the discipline was settled, or exercised, § by all which is manifest, that how necessary soever those parts of the discipline (which we want) be to the beautie, and well being, or preservation of the Church: Yet are they not necessary to the being thereof, but that a true Church may be without them. And as we may well call him a man, that wanteth not only sundry parts of his body, as an Arm, or a Legge, or Eye, but is also distemper'd much even in the Braine, and Liver, and heart, and the rest of the vitall parts; so may wee rightly call that a Church, which not only wanteth sundry of those Officers which Christ hath ordained, but hath also even in the ministerie

Thi. dly, though the discipline were not exercised at all with us, it could not therefore follow that we have it not.

Fourthly, Though even through ignorance or fearfulness, wee were kept from it, yet might wee have right and authoritie to use it.

2 *Ezek* 22. 26.

b 1 *Cor* 5. 12.

2 *Chro* 15. 9.

10. *Ch* 17. 5, 22.

b 2 *Chro* 19. 8.

11.

Ezek 22. 26.

d 1 *Cor* 5. 12.

e *Acts* 8. 12. 19.

31.

Acts 2. 41, 42.

g *Acts* 13. 41.

14. 21, 22.

Tit 2. 5.

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of the word, and the profession of the true faith (which are as it were the braine and heart of a true Church) much maimednesse and distemper. **PART. I.**

The places of Scripture which they alleadge to disprove this which wee have said, are unskillfully applyed; for the one of them mentioneth no other ordinary officers but Pastors, and Teachers, which our Church professeth, the other though it proveth there should bee other Officers besides them there named; yet both it not affirme, that without them there can be no true Church.

In the collection of Letters and conferences, page 69. Ephes. 4. 11, 12 Rom. 12. 8.

OBJECT. III.

The fourth thing which they object against the whole body of our Assemblies is this: *That we stand under (as they say) a false and Antichristian government, for that wee are directed by, and subject to Canons, Courts, and authoritie of the Bishops which they do not content themselves in the 68. 69. page of their collection of Letters, and conferences to call Popish, and Antichristian, and Egyptian, and Babylonish Tokes, but in regard therof they say our Assemblies Cast out Satan by the power of Satan.*

Object.
The fourth Objection against the whole body of our Assemblies is, that we stand under the Popish Church government which reason also is insufficient to warrant their separation.

To this fourth objection we make this answer:
First, Seeing it hath beene already shewed that the discipline which our Church exerciseth, is in substance the same with that which Christ instituted, they cannot with any colour of truth say, that all our Church government is Popish, and Antichristian, but only that it is popishly and corruptly administered.

Secondly, Though it were confessed, that in the callings, and authoritie of the Bishops, there bee diverse things Antichristian; Yet see we not how our Bishops could truly be called Antichrists, or Antichristians; because, first the word which it describes Antichrist, and teacheth us how to know him, useth to marke him out by his false doctrine. Neither can we find in holy Scripture, any such accounted an Antichrist, or Antichristian, who holding the truth of doctrine, and professing all the fundamentall Articles of the faith, doth swerve either in judgement or practice from that rule which Christ hath given for the discipline of his Church. Now it is evident, that our Bishops both doe, and by the Lawes of our Land ought to hold and teach all doctrines and truths that are fundamentall: For some of them have learnedly, and soundly maintained the truth against Hereticks, that have gained it, some have not only by their doctrine and ministerie converted many to the truth, but have suffered persecution also for the Gospel, and though Henry Bar-

Answer.
1. The substance of our discipline is Christ, and not Antichrist.
2 Thef. 10. 1. 1.
2 Tim. 4. 1. 3.
1 John 2. 22.
1 John 4. 3.
1 John 7.
Rev. 13. 9. 16.

PART. I.

row in the eleventh page of his discoverie call them Pseudo-Martyrs, and run-away professors, yet can hee not prove that they all since their accepting their rooms, renounced, and are fallen from that truth which they then suffered for.

Secondly, Their Hierarchie, and other their corruptions that are charged upon the calling of our Bishops, were rather to bee esteemed as the staires, and way to Antichristianitie, then Antichristianitie it selfe, which is evident by this, that they were in the Church before the Pope (who is the Antichrist, and the chiefe head-link of all Antichristianitie) was revealed.

Thirdly, The Antichristian Bishops hold their preheminence, as from Gods Law, which is unchangeable; Whereas our Bishops since her Majesties Reigne untill this day (for the most part) held their superiority by no other right, then by the positive Law, which is variable; Yea it appeareth, both by the institution of the Courts of delegates, and by the continuance thereof to this day, that they doe and ought by Law to hold their jurisdiction, not as from God, but as from his Prince.

Thirdly, if they were, yet might we be the true Church.

Thirdly, Admit that both our Bishops, and the government by them exercised were Antichristian, yet might wee that stand in that sort, as we doe, be subject unto them that are the true Church of Christ; it is evident, that to speake properly, the Yoke of Antichrist is only inward and spirituall where the faith and Conscience are enjoyned upon paine of damnation to receive other Lawes and worship, then that which God in his word prescribeth, and even to this Yoke, the true Church hath bene often subject, or else the Church of the Jewes even in the dayes of Christ was no true Church, that held themselves bound in conscience to observe sundry traditions of the Elders: In a more large sense those Prelates are called Antichristian, that joyne civill jurisdiction, with Ecclesiasticall, or usurpe more than they ought in externall government, or tyrannously abuse the power committed to their hands; and this Antichristian Yoke also, the true Church hath borne many a time: in the dayes of the Macchabees, there was a true Church among the Jewes, yet did the Priests exercise civill jurisdiction.

Jer. 5. 31.

20. 1.

Ezek. 34. 4.
Which had not needed if the Church could have suppressed, or withstood them.

There was a true Church, both in *Jeremies*, and *Ezekiels* dayes, which yet did beare this Antichristian Yoke: the authoritie which our Bishops are said to usurpe over the Ministers, and Church, is not worse than that, which *Diotrephes* usurped; for besides that, hee sought for an Antichristian preheminence, it is evident that the Church was unable to resist him, and therefore the Apostle purposed himselfe to come and rebuke him. Their own termes they use in this, [*viz.* Egyptian, and

Babylon.

Babylonish Yoke, I shall teach them thus much; for seeing that the Jews remained still the Church of God, even in that bondage that they stood under in Egypt, and Babylon; why may not wee also remaine God. Church still, notwithstanding the Yoke which wee beare, being nothing so heaue as that was?

PART I.

OBJECT. V.

The last thing they object against the whole body of our Assemblies, is this: *That we obstinately continue in the aforesaid wants, and corruptions, though we have beene convinced.* concerning this point, they haue these words, in the 23. page of their refutation; *Wee hold withall that no true Church, or Christian will maintaine any sinne, or error, when it is evidently shewed and conuincd to them by the Word of God; much lesse persecute such as reprove and admonish them, as you do.* In the 164. pag; they charge us with wilfull obstinacie, open rejecting, and resisting the truth, &c.

The fifth Objection against the whole body of our Church is that we obliuiously continue in the aforesaid wants and corruptions though we have bin duly convinced.

To this reason, we also give this answer.

That neither doe our Assemblies continue in the aforesaid wants and corruptions, neither if they did, should they therefore cease to be a true Church; for,

First, It is euidēt, that many Ministers and Congregations, haue both by prayer unto God, and all meanes (that haue been in their powers to use) testified unto men their earnest desire to haue these corruptions removed, and the true discipline established.

Secondly, The most of them that maintaine the evils that are amongst us, and repugne the reformation which the rest haue sought, cannot bee justly charged with wilfull obstinacie, or committing those things wherein their own consciences doe condemne them; for, seeing they professe, and pretend that they are not yet in their judgment perswaded of these things, and the whole conuersation of many of them is, such as gives us just cause to believe them, who dare be so presumptuous as to judge thus of their hearts, and consciences, though hee were sure they haue wanted no meanes whereby they might haue beene conuincd.

Considering that it is one thing, to haue had the meanes of conuincing another thing to be conuincd: the former whereof may bee performed to us by men, the other by the Lord only; and that a people, in whom some right meanes of conuincing haue not been effected, may as well be the true Church of God, as they that haue received and profited by all right meanes, that haue beene used for their instruction, and reformation of life,

1. Objection is false and insufficient to warrant their separation for some of our assemblies haue mourned for that which is amiss and by all due meanes sought reformation. Secondly, some maintaine corruptions and oppugne the discipline because they are not yet in their consciences perswaded of the things.

Tit. 3. 11.

PART I.

Thirdly, Wee have not had so much as the right meanes used to convince us in these things which are in controversie betweene them and us.
Fourthly, Although wee were all thoroughly convinced, yet have wee not power and warrant from God to redresse publike disorders, and erect the discipline without the consent of the Christian Magistrates.

Godly Princes

Thirdly, We have not yet had the right meanes used to convince us in sundry of those matters, that are in controversie betweene us and them; for proove whereof, we referre our selves to the answer, which we will hereafter make unto their articles in their conclusion.

Fourthly, Though not only the right meanes had been used to convict us, but they had also so farre prevailed with us, that in judgment we saw the truth (which they say is not practised amongst us) and in heart did affect it; yet would this sufficiently cleere us from the crime of wilfull obstinacie, that wee have not power without the consent and permission of Christian Magistrates (under whom we live, by whose meanes we enjoy so many great benefits, and whom if wee should thus farre provoke (we should evidently hazzard the losse of those things wherein the very life and being of a visible Church consisteth,) either to remove the corruptions that remaine amongst us, or to establish those Church orders which wee want; for although we doubt not but the whole truth of Christs doctrine, may be lawfully taught (though all the Magistrates in the world gaine-say it) and practised also so farre forth by every Christian, as the bounds of his particular calling permits, and that it is the Magistrates principall honour, in the sight of God, and man, to yeeld and submit himselfe to the instructions, reprooves, and censures of the Church, so far forth as they are agreeable to the Word of God, who is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings: Yet cannot we not see good reason to perswade us, that the Church ought, or may either pull downe, corrupt Church government, or erect the right discipline, not onely without, but contrary to the likeing of Christian Magistrates.

Thus much we finde in the Word of God.

First, That in those publike reformations of the Church, which the word commendeth, the Christian and godly Princes were ever the principall actors.

Secondly, That for the want of publike Reformation, the Magistrate is every where blamed, and nowhere the Church, for ought we can find: oft are the Priests, and people blamed for erecting and practising Idolatry, but never for that they plucked it not downe, when their Princes had set them up: Neither can wee finde whether ever the Church under a Christian Magistrate, was by any Prophet, either commanded to deale (otherwise then by perswasion) in publike Reformation, when the Magistrate neglected it; or reproved for the contrarie.

To that which they were wont to say; then the Apostles were much to blame, who in erecting the Church government, never waited for, nor sought the Magistrates leave, and good liking? Wee answer, that

at though without the Magistrates leave they did it. Yet not contrary to his liking, or when he opposed his authority directly, and inhibited it, the never erected the discipline, when there was so direct an opposition made against it by the civil Magistrates.

Secondly, If it could be proved that the Apostles did so then, yet would it not follow, that we also may do so now; for neither was the Heathen Magistrate altogether so much to be respected by the Church as the Christian Magistrate is; neither have our Ministers, and people, now so full and absolute a power, to pull downe, and set up orders in the Church, as the Apostles (those wise Master builders) had.

Lastly, though this were all proved, that our Assemblies are thoroughly convinced in these points, and that we having power to reforme that which is amisse, doe yet voluntarily continue in those wants, and corruptions; yet might we be the true Churches of Christ, notwithstanding; for as true faith in Christ, not morall obedience, is that which giveth life, and being to every true member of the Church, so the profession of true faith in Christ, rather than obedience, is that which giveth the life, and being to a visible Assembly.

So wee read that many upon their profession of faith were baptized and incorporated into the Church. So that which made the *Romans* a true Church in the judgment of *Paul*, was, that their faith was published throughout the world. And generally, that which made the *Gentiles* (to whom hee preached) a true Church, was that they gave obedience of faith, neither doe wee see what difference they will make betwixt the covenant of workes, and the covenant of grace, if they hold obedience to the Commandements of God, necessary to the life and first being of a true Christian Church.

And as a wife ceaseth not to be a wife, though in many things she cease to be wilfully disobedient to her husband, unlesse she sin, either by desertion, or whoredom, and be divorced. So neither the Church ceaseth to be the Church, and Spouse of Christ, till she be both sufficiently convinced of Atheisme, or Idolatry, and be divorced also, the Lord taking from her His Word, and Sacraments, and all other his spirituall Jewells, and Ornaments; In the third Chapter of *Jeremy*, both *Israel*, and *Judah*, were charged with Idolatry, and yet must we needs confesse, that they still continued the true Church of God, unlesse wee will say, there was at that time, no true visible Church in the world, which was most absurd to affirme. So the *Corinthians* being in the first Epistle, convinced of the sinne of Idolatry, and other finnes, the Church remaining in them, as appeareth in the second Epistle, did yet continue to be the true Church of God, notwithstanding, and so are called in the

Fifthly, though we did voluntarily continue in those knowne wants & corruptions having power to redresse them: yet might we be the true Church notwithstanding.

a *Acts* 8. 12, 13
b *Rom.* 1. 8.
c *Rom.* 1. 5.

d 1 *Cor.* 10. 14.
e 2 *Cor.* 6. 14.
f 12, 21, 13, 2
f 2 *Cor.* 1. 1.

same

PART I. same Epistle; That which *Henry Barrow* in the 94. page of their refutation excuseth this Church by, (*viz.*) that it was orderly gathered, and established, may as well bee allcaded for our Assemblies, as for the Church of *Coras*, we hope, may appeare by that which hath been above said in our Answer to the first Objection they make against the whole body of our Church; He that was once a brother, though he persist in his sinnes, he hath beene convinced of, not by one brother only, but by two or three, yea though he commit some presumptuous sinnes, ceaseth not to bee a brother notwithstanding; how much lesse, shall a Church cease to be a true Church, because it hath been convinced of some grosse corruptions, by one, or some few?

Matth. 18. 15,

16.

b Psalme 19.

The high places were continued in *Israel*, and *Judah*, and that under the Reigne of sundry good Kings; notwithstanding the reproofe of many Prophets. Yet were they of *Israel*, and *Judah*, accounted the Church still; neither did the Prophets cease, to communicate with them. Neither would those that remained in *Babylon* after the Proclamation of *Cyrus* (which was also the Commandement of God) to returne, thrust out of the account of the Church, as appeareth by the communion of them, with the Church of *Jerusalem*, and the bookes of *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*, notwithstanding, partly in feare of the danger, partly in a love of the commoditie, which they settled themselves in, during the captivitie, they did not build the Temple in person, but only sent money for the building.

c 2 Kings 1. 3.

& 15. 3.

d 2 Chro. 35. 22

Ezra. 2. 2.

Lastly, the Apostle setteth downe a Rule, which is directly contrary to this fourth Article of their first exception in these words; *Let us therefore as many as are perfect, bee thus minded, and if in any thing, ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveale the same unto you*; Nevertheless, *Whereunto we have already attained, let us walke by the same rule, that we may mind the same things*, whereby it appeareth, that with those who hold the foundation, wee both may, and ought to hold and joyne our selves in the things, wherein we are agreed, notwithstanding our differences in those things that are not fundamentall. By all which it is manifest how false, and dangerous a doctrine, that is, which *Henry Barrow* in the 28. page of his discovery affirmeth, that presumptuous sinne, with obstinacie joyned thereunto, breaketh the covenant with God; if he had said, it giveth the Lord just cause to cast us off, and to make void that covenant whereby hee had bound himselfe unto us, wee would have consented. But that the everlasting covenant of God, is utterly broken by a presumptuous sinne committed with obstinacie, it wee should grant, wee should condemne the generation of the just, and darken much the glory of Gods Mercie, who is constant in love towards those, whom he

Philip. 3. 15.

hath receaved into covenant, even though they bee many times uncon-
stant and unfaithfull unto him.

And even as an Husband, or wife, ceaseth not presently to bee an
Husband, or wife, when they have committed adulterie, till by just
divorce they bee separated, so it is in this case as wee have above
said.



Wee have a true Ministerie IN ENGLAND.

II. EXCEPTION.

THe second generall exception is against the Ministry of our
Church, which they affirme to be false, and Antichristi-
an. Concerning which, they have these words, in the page
146. and 147. of their refutation, wee have perused all
this rable of the ministerie, of the Church of England, and
have not found any one of them right, or almost, in any point, according to
the right Rules of Christs Testament, they are all strangers there, they be-
long

PART II.

was no such Christ's body. His Church is neither are they knit in to him, as the Head. And in the 147. page of the same booke, it is said for this say, as it is our Administration is such, as can have no power, nor be from God, although we receive, but in the wayes of the false Church, and therefore are the wayes of death, and have no promise of salvation. And in the 147. page, they have these words; Out of the smoke of the Bottomlesse pit, all their Ministers come, where the fallen starre, Anichrist had the Key of the reof given him; to his Kingdome, the false Church, they have a waye belonged, always served him, he his grace, & favour, they his sin always knit to him, as members to the head; from him, and not from Christ, we all see with our bodily eyes, that the Church of England hath received them. And in the 158. page of the same booke, they conclude thus. The keeping of these offices, cannot now belong unto, or serve in Christs Kingdom:: His Church neither, be knit unto Christ, as the Head. But as the Holy Ghost witnesseth of them, they have a King over them, the Angell of the bottomlesse pit, whose name is in Hebreu, Abaddon; and in Greeke, Apollion, as in all languages, and places, they discover.

ANSWER.

We have a true Ministry

Batie appeareth that our Ministry is holy and lawfull, because the true Church hath received and approved our doctrine.

John 10. 3, 5.

Ephes. 4. 11, 12

1 John 4. 6.

2. Many have bin effectually called by our Ministry.

And this reason taken from the force of our Ministry, and hath force to prove the lawfulness of it.

THAT wee have a true Ministry in this Land, it may evidently appear by these reasons.

A true Church (such as we have proved ours to be in our answer, to their first exception) could neither have received our doctrine, nor proved it so long, nor have bene continued, nourished, and built up by it: had not wee bene the true faithfull Ministry of Christ.

Secondly, It is evident, that many have bene brought (by our Ministry) to saving knowledge, faith, and reformation of life. For proove whereof, wee appeale, first, to their owne consciences, out of which wee desire them to answer us, as in the presence of Almighty God.

Secondly, By the manifest differences, that may be noted betwixt those that have bene taught by a learned Ministry, and those that have had none; who yet should bee in judgement, and affection, as good or better than the other; if the Ministry, under which the other lived, were not true, and lawfull: for if it were not, it could not have produced such a fruit. Thirdly, A reason taken from the fruit of our labours, is sufficient to prove, wee are the true Ministers of God. As appeareth in this.

1. That

1. That the Lord in his most holy Word, maketh this the most proper note of such ministration, as is according to his owne heart. PAR II.

Secondly, In that the ministration is oft justified, and proved to be of God, by this reason; So that our Saviour Christ proveth Himselfe, to be the true Messiah, by doing the workes of the Messiah; ^{c 1er. 3. 15 & 23. 3. 1.} ^{John 10. 25.} ^{d Eph. 4. 11, 12.} ^{Rom. 10. 14, 15.} so may wee prove our selves true Ministers, by doing the workes of God, His Ministers.

To that which they object against this reason, (viz.) that there by the Popish Church and Ministration may be justified, as well as ours, seeing that many have beene converted, by private conference, and reading, and by domesticall preaching, and exhortations, without a publike Church calling.

We answer, that though the Lord hath bene often wont, heretofore, and is able still to convert soules by private meanes, and such as are extraordinary. Yet cannot it be proved, that any have beene converted usually, or that publike Congregations have beene gathered, and tilled up by any private interpretations, and application of the Scriptures, but by such only as have beene used by lawful ministration.

And whereas Henry Barrowe excepteth further, 3. 1. 2. and 1. 5. of his refutation, that this argueth only true doctrine, and not a true Ministration; we answer,

First, That thereby he justifieth our doctrine, which elsewhere, he generally condemneth.

Secondly, That he affirmeth only, that true doctrine without a true ministration, doth ordinarily convert men: but proveth it not, nor indeed was able to prove it: as shall hereafter appeare, in the answer wee make to the second Article of their consequence.

But our Ministers have no promise of blessing in their teaching (say they) and therefore, neither may they lawfully teach, nor the people heare them.

To this we answer, First, That Gods Ministers have lawfully taught when they have not only wanted the promise, that their labour should doe that people good, whom they did teach, but received assurance of the contrary.

Secondly, That the people have lawfully heard, and hearkened to teachers, that have come unto them, when they (as being utterly ignorant and unacquainted with Gods promises) had no assurance to their consciences, that God had promised a blessing to their hearing.

PART II.

Objection first.

Their first objection against our ministers is, that the office whereunto our Ministers were called is Antichristian, which is false & slanderous: for the office and duties whereunto we are called, are the very same which the word precribeth, not those that popish Priests are called unto.

THe first thing they object against our Ministers, *Is, that the Office whereunto our ministerie is called, is not that which Christ hath Ordained, but that which Antichrist calleth his Priests unto:* Concerning these points, these are their words, in the 158. page of their refutation: *They have served in, and belonged unto Antichrist, even the Popes Kingdome and Throne, the false Church, with all the abominable Idolatrie therein?*

ANSWER. I.

To which their Objection, we give this answer.

The preaching of the whole truth of Gods Word, and nothing but it; the administration of the Sacraments, and of publicke prayer, as they are all the parts of the Ministers Office prescribed in the word, so are they all appointed to our Ministers by the Law.

And for so much, as there is no Priest-hood in the Popish Church, that is not ordained to offer that Idolatrous sacrifice of the Masse, or that was ever called unto, and necessarily enjoined those duties of ministry that are required of us. Wee see not with what truth our brethren can say that our Office is the same, which Antichrist calleth his Priests unto.

And if our Office bee the same which Antichrist hath ordained, how falleth it out, that the Papists give a new ordination, to such as having had that which our Church giveth, doe in Apostacie shrinke unto them.

Though some popish Priests are allowed to exercise the Ministerie without any new Ordination.

And if it be objected, that our Church admitteth such as were ordained by Antichrist without any new ordination, whereby appeareth, that our office and theirs is all one? we answer.

First, That though they have no other ordination, yet in more essentiall parts of their outward calling unto the Ministry, there are so many differences to be observed, in the practise of our Church, that no indifferent man can thinke, we judge the calling, that any man hath had in popery, to be sufficient for exercise of their Ministry in our Church.

Secondly, The receiving of some into the Ministry, that have bin popish

popish Priests, without new ordination, as we take it to be a grievous corruption, and such as wee will by no meanes seeke to justifie, so wee thinke it cannot by any shew of good reason, be alledged to prove that the calling which all our Ministers have, is the very same which the Popish Priests exercise; but onely to shew either the outward calling, which some of our Ministers exercise is, the very same with that of the popish Priests, or (at the most) that some chiefe Governours in the Church doe in their judgement, hold that there is no new Ordination, to bee required in such a case; both which if wee should grant, yet had they granted nothing at all in the question, that is betwixt us.

The first reason wherby they would prove that office, whereunto our Ministers are called, is not that which Christ hath ordained, but that whereunto Antichrist hath called his Priests is, That we are called unto such a Deaconship as is not according unto Christs Testament, but Popish and Antichristian? Whereunto we answer.

1. That if the Deaconship and Priest-hood (as they terme it) bee taken by us both at once, as usually they are, then we are enabled to doe whatsoever a Minister of the Gospell may doe of himselfe, without the assistance of the Eldership, and so the error that is committed resteth in the forme and ceremony only, not in the matter it selfe.

Secondly, though it were indeed to be wished, that every office in the Church were called by the proper name which the Scripture giveth it; Yet if the Church gave a wrong name to a right and lawfull office, the office is not therefore to bee refused, much lesse, is the power to preach the word, and to administer the one of the Sacraments, therefore to bee refused, because it is given by the name of the Deacons Office, considering that although in the strict, and most proper sense, the Scripture calleth them Deacons, to whom, the Office of caring for the poore is committed; yet sometimes also all that labour in the word are comprehended under this name, and the ministry of the word, is called a Deaconship.

Thirdly, If it be objected, that our Deaconship is neither approved nor mentioned in the Scripture, because it restraineth us from dealing with the one Sacraments, and so separateth those things, which God hath coupled?

Wee answer, That this can bee no reason against our Ministers, because when they are made Deacons, they are not called to do any thing that is unlawfull, but only cut short for a time and restrained from some thing, which they may or ought to doe, much lesse can it bee alledged against all our Ministers, because many of us (as it is above said) were made both Deacons, and Priests, (as they speake fondly) in one day, and

The first reason against our office is, that we all receive one Antichristian Deaconship, which hath not force to condemne our office, seeing under the name of Priest and Deacon, many receive at one time, the full power of ministerie.

Philip. 1. 1.

1 Tim. 3. 8.

1 Thim. 3. 8.

Ephef. 3. 7.

Col. 1. 7. 23.

1 Tim. 4. 6.

1 Thim. 4. 6.

Acts 1. 17, 25.

6. 4. & 12.

25. & 20. 24.

Rom. 12. 13, 14.

Cor. 12. 5.

Thirdly, Although he that is called to be a Deacon be restrained from some worke that belongs to a Minister, yet is he not called to doe ought that is unlawfull.

PART. II.

The second reason against our office (viz.) this we be called by such names as are popish, is fond & insufficient. For the name Priest though not simply unlawful, yet in our Churches judg'd unfit to be given unto the Ministers of the Gospel. Bishop *Horne* against *Fekman*, fol. 95. & fol. 121.

Thirdly, If all were called by popish names, yet might we be true Ministers. Fourthly, Especially seeing they are imposed upon us, & we delight not in them.

Gen. 41:45.
Mat. 23:8.
Fifthly, Our Doctrines may be good though we were all called by, and did delight in those names.

Mat. 23:8.
Their third reason that we are called to read *stinted* prayers, is imposed prayers.

to take the full power and authoritie of ministry without any such separation, or thany as is here objected.

Their second reason, against our office and function is: That men are not knowne by the *right* names which are attributed unto the Ministers of Christ, but by *such* names as have been devised and given by the Papists, as Priest, Parson, Vicar, and Curate, &c.

To which we answer; first, Concerning the name Priest, although we thinke, that at the first, it was well enough applied to the Hierarchy of the Word because it was derived from the *Greek* Word, *Presbyteros*, that signifies an Elder. Yet because it is used now by the pophane, as a terme of scorn, and hath a long name, both by Papists, and others, been by common custome abused, and appropriated to such as do sacrifice, therefore not only the most of our people refuse to call us by that name but even some, who have been chiefes Servers of our Church, have judged it unfit to be given unto the Ministers of the Gospel.

Secondly, It is well knowne, not only that many of our Ministers are usually called by such names, as the Scripture giveth, but also that the Law of the Land (in the book of consecration) giveth us the names of Pastors, Teachers and Rectors.

Thirdly, Though the names objected against us, have been used by the Papists, and therefore are very unfit to be given to the Ministers of the Gospel. Yet see we not, that either by their original, or use, they have any such contagion in them, as should pollute and infect all that use them, and duties whereunto they are appointed.

Fourthly, Though these names were of themselves, of Antichristian originall and use. Yet if they be imposed upon any such as take possession in them, we see not how they can any whit more pollute them, and their offices, then *Popes*, and *Monks*, were polluted by *Antichristian* and *Idolatrous* names that were set upon them, or than *priests* of *Christians* were made the worse, by the common termes of *Papists*, *Parsons*, and *Martinists*, or then our brethren themselves, are by the names of *Brownists* and *Barrowists*, which they usually are called by, and so much dislike.

Fifthly, If neither the Law, nor the people did give us any other names then such as are popish, and we will not glory in them ourselves. Yet makes this nothing to the condemnation of our office and doctrine, seeing, that though the name of *Thane* were not of divine institution, Yet *Christ* himselfe giveth approbation, to the office of preaching, which they exercised.

Their third reason against our office and function, is: That we are called to read *stinted* prayers, that are devised, and imposed by others: Concerning which, they say, page 62. of their discovery, *that the Book of*

PART II. and that therefore this can bee no good reason, against all our Ministers. Secondly, If all did use to read them; Yet are they not in their Ordination called to read them (as hath beene above proved) so that if they read them, the fault is in them, and not in the office they exercise. Thirdly, If they were enjoined to read ungodly prayers, and did accordingly read them, this cannot make their Ministerie voyd, or Antichristian, for then *Uriah* should have beene no Priest, for that he made an Alter at Jerusalem, like that in all points, which was at *Damascus*: whereas it is evident, that he continued the Priest of the Lord still: Notwithstanding that great fault which was beyond all comparison greater than this, that is in question.

Secondly, none
are in the or-
dination called
and enjoined
to read such.
2 Kings 16. 11.

Their fifth reason against our office is, *That We are called to read, Homilies, and Injunctions,* and whereunto we answer.

First, That neither do the most of our Ministers read Homilies; Neither doth any law of the Land require, that Preachers should read them.

Secondly, If Law did enioyne them to all, and all did read them; yet are they not enjoined in our ordination, nor accounted by Law as substantiall parts of our office, neither is there any doubt made in our Land (no not by them that doe presse the precise observation of Law in this point) whether he be a lawfull Minister, who doth not read, either Homilies, or Injunctions.

Their sixth reason against our office is, *That We are called to marry, burie, and Church women.* To which also we answer.

First, That it is no part of our office (whereunto in ordination we are called) to doe these things.

Secondly, as the Ministers use to blesse the Marriages, that are made in our Land, so make we no doubt, but that it is lawfull and fit (as a matter not of substance, but of good order) that they should not doe it, for as it is necessary that this ordinance of God should be sanctified, by the Word, and prayer, so it cannot bee inconvenient, that the Word and prayer, whereby it is sanctified, should be administered by him, who in a speciall sort is appointed of God to be the steward, and disposer of all his mysteries, and so whom in his ministeriall actions, greater promises are made than to any other man: though hee doe the very same thing. And seeing that in these dayes it preventeth many dangerous inconveniences, to have marriages blest in the publike congregations, who can be thought so fit to speake in the congregation, and to bee the mouth, either of the Lord to the people, or of the people unto God, as is the Minister?

That which *Henry Barrow* objecteth in the 123, page of his discovery; *That he ever tooke Marriage for an Ordinance, and an action of the second*

second table, and seeth not why we may not as well set up the tables, of the money changers, or bring in any other civill matters or chaffins, as this into our Church, is easily answered; for though marriages be a civill action, yet is not the blessing of it, by the words, and prayer civill. And as the Magistrates may have a hand in those actions, that are Ecclesiasticall and belonging to the first Table, (even by *Henry Barrow's* owne confession, in the 85. page of the same booke) so may the Minister have a hand in those actions that are civill, and belonging to the second Table. And though Marriages receive life and being, from the contract that is made by mutuall consent of parties, and Parents privately (which is the cause why we doe thereupon according to the Scriptures, account them man and wife, before they have lyen together) yet doth this adde much to the seemliness and beautie of that holy ordinance, when it is thus made knowne, and rightly ratified in the congregation.

Concerning Churching of women, we answer: That many of our Ministers doe upon a just dislike of the forme prescribed in the booke, and upon feare of nourishing the great superstition (that the people for the most part have put in that custome) forbears to use any particular, and personall forme of thanksgiving, at that time and occasion: And yet wee see not how it should simply, be unlawfull, (though very inconvenient) to use some form of thanksgiving, at that time even with special mention of that occasion, or how our ministerie should be made void, and Antichristian by doing so: besides that, the booke it selfe tieth no Minister to the forme prescribed, but leaveth it to his discretion to use it, or any other, as that case or occasion requireth.

Concerning burials, we answer.

First, That many of our Ministers are knowne to refuse the forme of buriall prescribed in the booke.

Secondly, That a Christian Minister may (for the honour and seemliness of Christian buriall) accompany, as a Christian, with the rest of the Neighbours, the body of Christians departed unto the grave.

Thirdly, if the minister use some few words of comfort and exhortation at that time; Yea even in that forme, that the booke prescribeth, though it may prove inconvenient, and offensive; Yet is there no such impietie in that action, that should make his ministerie void, or Antichristian.

Their seventh reason against our office is, *That we are called to use Antichristian Ceremonies*: whereunto we make this answer. That the Ceremonies wherein opinion of Holiness is, or hath beene put, many of our Ministers have cast off, so that this reason maketh nothing to justifie separation from all our Church Assemblies.

PART II.

b Rom. 7. 15.

2 Chron. 20. 33.

1 King. 2. 5.

3. Though we all used the most unlawfull Ceremonies that are in our Church; Yet might we bee true Ministers. Galath. 4. 9. 2 Kings 14. 4. Fourthly, Speciallie seeing we are not bound by office to use them.

Their second Objection against our ministerie is, that the entrance in to our Office is Antichristian; which is sufficient to warrant their separation, for First, the people are not bound to enquire or see how their Ministers entred. Secondly, Our entrance may be lawfull though it be not in all points agreeable to the rules of Christs Testament.

Mefusa. p. 127.

Secondly, Many that use sundry of these Ceremonies doe it, because either they judge them things indifferent, and such, as whereunto the Law of Christian charity, and the tender regard to the weakness of the people doth (as they thinke) binde them; following therein, the direction of the Word; or else they tollerate them as burdens, which it lieth not in them to remove, being laid upon them by the determination of the Magistrats, and custome of the Church. And seeing that they doe in judgement, and affection, unfeignedly dislike that which either through humane infirmities, or in Christian wisdom, and to prevent more dangerous inconveniences they are enforced to beare with. We see not, why they may not bee accounted the true Ministers of Christ, notwithstanding they use these inconvenient Ceremonies, as well as Paul might be judged to be a good Christian, though he sometimes did that evil, which he hated, and *Isaiah* a good King, though he endured the high places, to continue in *Judah* all the time of his government, because hee was not able to abolish them. And *David* though he suffered *Saul* to live many dayes, after he had committed most unnaturall murder because hee was not able without manifest danger to his life to cut him off.

Thirdly, the use of the most unlawfull ceremonies that are amongst us; is not of force to make our Ministerie void, and Antichristian, or our Church (for the Galathians were still a true Church, though they had received even those impotent, and beggerly rudiments, which they had once cast off) much more wee, which cannot bee said to have resumed them, as being never yet freed from the bondage of them, so was there still a true Church in *Judah* when the hill alters, and high places were continued there; which yet was a greater corruption in the worship of God, then the ceremonies whereof question is made, can possibly be accounted.

Fourthly, It is no part of our office whereunto we are in ordination called, to use any ceremonies as hath bene shewed before.

The second thing they object against our Ministerie is, That the manner of our entrance into the aforesaid office and calling is Antichristian, and not according to Gods Ordinance?

Whereunto wee answer: First, that the people may lawfully accept us to bee true Ministers, whom the Church so esteemeth, though they cannot see how we first entred. And that by no commandement, or example in the Word, they are bound to enquire there-into. For further prooffe whereof, we referre our selves unto the answer which wee have made to their first Objection, against the whole body of our Church.

Secondly, Though none of those Rules which Christ his Testament hath

hath set downe for the calling; and ordaining of our Ministerie, can be wanting without a blemish; and maine to the calling: And consequently they should all of them be carefully sought for, both by Minister and people, yet may some of them be wanting, without losse of the life, and being of the calling: Neither is that true which they affirme; *That whatsoever Minister hath not a true and right calling, in all points, though the office wherein hee be called, be a true office, is no true Minister, but an usurper, an intruder, a chiefe, and a murderer.* For first, whatsoever is of the being; and substance of the calling to the ministerie, hath beene common to all true and lawfull Ministers, that ever were in the Church, as well as the substance of the Sacraments, and discipline, and whole Religion, hath ever beene one, and the same, in all places, and at all times; whereas it is cleere, that some of the rules prescribed for the outward calling in the New Testament, have not bin alwayes in use, and practise throughout Gods Church, no not in such ministries as the Word hath given testimonie to: for prooffe whereof may be alleadged the calling, that thole Levites, and Preachers exercised, whereof there is mention made, 2 Chron. 17. 7, 9. For as in divers other parts of Gods service, the omitting, and swerving from sundry of Gods holy Ordinances prescribed in the word, maketh not the act onit selfe void and unlawfull (as is evident by that one example, 2 Chron. 30. 26, 17, 18, 19.) so the want and swerving from some rules prescribed for the outward calling of the Ministers cannot be of force sufficient to make their calling void and unlawfull.

Thirdly, Though our entrance were according to some of Antichristian Canons, yet would not that prove that our ministerie is Antichristian; for further prooffe whereof we have set our selves to that answer we have made to the fourth Objection against the validity of our Church.

Their first reason against our entrance is: *That we are not chosen by the people, nor solemnly inducted, set, or approved by an Eldership.*

Whereunto we give this answer. First, that their be many of our Ministers in our Church, that have beene in times past chosen by a sufficient people, and ordained by a lawful Eldership, to the workes of the ministerie, not only by *Consecration, Middle Church, Suffragan, and by the people, as in the case of the late Bishop of Exeter.*

Against whom if this be objected, *That they were not called, or approved by any of our Parishes Assemblies?* Wee desire to know by what warrant they can be so nominated to be our Ministers, that have given no just cause of deposition, since that time they were so sufficiently called to the ministry.

Thirdly, Our entrance might be lawfull though in some points it were according to some Canons of Antichrist.

Their first reason whereby they condemne our entrance, (v. c.) that we were not elect by the people, nor approved by the Eldership, is of no force.

PART II.

Secondly, man-
nie of the
same election
and ordination
in substance
which the
word requireth

Secondly, the most of such Preachers, as have stood for the cause of Reformation have the very same outward election, and ordination in substance which the word prescribeth; for first, their are before their entrance, sufficient meanes used to know and finde what gifts are in them by disputation, and other exercises in divinitie.

Secondly, their gifts are approved by the judgement of sundry learned men of the Colledges, and places wherein, and whereabout they have beene trained up

Thirdly, the faithfull that are in those Congregations, where they are placed doe either desire them, or gladly receive them, or at the least by not taking exception to them, do even by their silence, consent to their entrance, or by submitting themselves willingly to their godly directions in all things, and profitting in knowledge and Reformation of life by their labours, doe manifestly approve of them, and set a seal unto their ministrie, whereof this may serve for an evident proofe; the many Assemblies have both made an earnest suite for sundry Ministers before their first coming to them; And when they have beene implected afterwards.

And seeing the right that Patrons now have, was given them at first by the peoples free consent (though ignorantly, and unlawfully as we are perswaded) we see not why the choise that the Patron maketh, may not be accounted the choise of the people; as well as the acts done by the Knights, and Burgeses of the Parliament, are deemed the acts of the whole commons, by whom they were deputed; It is evident that by the Law mentioned, *2 Sam. 30. 8.* that the silence of the husband, or parent that testified not his dislike to the vow which hee understood was made by his wife, or child, made the said vow of as much force, as if his consent had beene required and given, so it is judged in this case of the peoples silence, in accepting of their Ministers.

Thirdly, the Law it self requireth that we should have the same election and ordination in substance which the Word of God prescribeth, for by the Law; First, none should be made Minister, but at the same time also he should be appointed to some certaine charge.

Secondly, That when any Ministers are to be made, there should be knowledge given thereof, and that in so publicke place and manner, that even the people, over whom any Minister is to be set, may know it, and be admitted, to take any just exception, they can either to his doctrine, or life.

Thirdly, There may be some overance into the Ministerie in substance sufficient, where the people at first have not made election, nor their consent been required at all: as in case where the people have not know-
ledge

ledge of their right, or having known it have not been suffered to use it: But yet have afterwards yielded themselves subject thereunto, as also in the case aforesaid, *Numbers* 30. 8. for further prooffe whereof, we refer our selves to the answer we have given, unto that which they object in generall against our entrance.

Fourthly, Concerning ordination by Eldership, this wee answer in particular: First, that unlesse the eldership be held so essentiall a thing, that there can be no true Church without it (which we are well assured of that our brethren themselves, and all that have any knowledge will denie) ordination by the eldership cannot be absolutely necessary, albeit in the settled government of a Church, we hold it of the essence of the calling of a Minister, that we have the substance of the ordination appointed in the Word.

Fifthly, That as in times past, so now also there may be in some places such an estate of the Church, as wherein no manner of ordination and investing of Ministers, hath been, or could be used in the giving of an entrance into the Ministerie: And though where it may be conveniently had, we hold it fit that the weaknesse of the peoples judgement in their choise of their Minister, should be supported by the discreet knowledge of the Ministers and Elders that are about them; Yet where it cannot be conveniently had (as in places where the Gospel is newly planted, and far removed from other Churches already established) there that (amongst other considerations) the course of the Gospel should not be stayed, till ordination be fetched from farre countreys, the Lord himselfe oftentimes supplieth the places of the Ministers and Elders, and layeth on his hands: such evidence of gifts and graces proper for the Ministry, as not onely the Church doth willingly acknowledge; but the enemies also will they will they, are in their consciences convinced to be divine and excellent.

And seeing it is evident that neither the Prophets under the law, nor many worthy Ministers that God hath raised up since the time of the Gospel, had ever before their entrance into the Ministry, their gifts solemnly approved or been ordained.

Our Brethren must needs grant that this kinde of ordination is not simply or absolutely necessary to the being of a Minister.

To which also this may be added, that our Saviour in giving notice whereby the true Pastor should be discerned from the false, nameth only these, *viz.* that he enter himselfe, and lead the people in and out by that doore.

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Secondly, that the people of God agree with him and consent to his Ministerie.

Thirdly, that the Porter (the holy Ghost) open the hearts of the hearers to him and his doctrine (4), which 3. notes doubtlesse our Saviour would not have rested in, if there could have been no true Minister without the ordination which our Brethren speak of, and urge that as a matter of absolute necessitie: So that to conclude this point, wee say that the ordinary courte of entring into the Ministerie is not kept; but a great imperfection and want is to be acknowledged where this election and ordination is not used; Yet is not the want such, as taketh away the very life, and being of a true ministerie.

Their second reason against our entrance is; *That our ordination is received from Antichristian Prelates, and such as being persecutors of the godly, cannot bee well accounted brethren, or members of the Church, much lesse can they give a calling to a Minister of the Church?* wherunto we answer.

First, That the Bishops of *England* cannot truly be called Antichristian Prelates, for prooffe whereof, wee referre our selves unto that answer we have given unto their fourth Objection, against the whole body of our Church.

Secondly, seeing it cannot bee denied, that the Bishops are able to judge of such gifts as are required for the sufficiencie of Ministers; yea that many of them have bene such Ministers themselves, as to whose labours, the Lord hath set to his Seale, and who have also suffered persecution for the truth; we are perswaded, that (though it were necessary, yet) it cannot be unlawful, for him that entred into the ministry to be approved, and authorized even by them.

And if our ordination be in this behalfe faultie, how will our Brethren justifie the calling of their own Ministers, that have received ordination ever from the people, whomeither by commandment nor example, can be found to have any such authoritie, nor are in any degree capable of it, as the Bishops.

Thirdly, the ordination we seeke for from the Bishops, is not theirs but committed to the Church by Christ himselfe. And seeing we have already proved, that there was in *England* a true Church, even when this authoritie was first given by *Parliament* to the Bishops, and that the true Church (which without a ministerie, cannot possibly be continued) is never without power to ordaine Ministers: We may lawfully reference, and seeke for the benefit of this power, and privilege, which God hath given to his Church, though it were conveyed unto us by men, lesse capable of this authoritie, then our Bishops are.

And

Their second reason (*viz.*) that we receive our Ordination from Antichristian Bishops, is also insufficient for, first, Our Bishops cannot truly be called Antichristian. Secondly, seeing our Bishops are such as can judge of the sufficiencie of gifts, and are also Ministers. It cannot be unlawful for him that is to bee a Minister to receive probation and authoritie from them. Thirdly, the gifts & power to ordaine which God hath committed to his Church, we may lawfully seeke the benefit of, even at worse mens hands then our Bishops are: if we cannot otherwise come by it.

And he that thinketh Christs ordination, the better for the man, that be-
showeth it, incurreth (as we thinke) the danger of the curse, denounced
against him, *that putteth his trust in man. And maketh flesh his arm, and*
will draweth his heart, from the Lord. *Ier. 17. 5.*

Fifthly, If our Bishops were not at all capable of this power to
give Ecclesiasticall Ordination, yet seeing the Christian Magistrates ap-
probation, is not to be refused by him, that exerciseth a ministerie in the
Church, and that cannot be had in our Church, but by the hands of the
Bishops, we thinke that he who is fitted of God to the ministerie, and
hath also testimonie of his fitnessse from such godly learned Brethren as
have made tryall of his gifts, and can judge of them, may lawfully ac-
cept and seeke for this kinde of approbation, if all other conditions bee
equall.

Sixthly, Admit the Bishops from whom we receive our ordination,
were indeed Antichristian, or Heretickes (as we judge them not to be)
yet why should wee bee bound to seeke for any other ordination, more
than another baptisme, then that which we have received from Popish
Priests in the time of ignorance; And seeing that *Barrow* and *Green-
wood*, in the 54. page of their refutation, doe not onely account many
to be true Christians, that never had other outward Baptisme, then that
which they had from Popish Priests, but plainly affirme, that such nei-
ther need, nor ought to be baptized againe; we wonder why they dare
not account us true Ministers, because of this ordination received from
the Bishops.

Shall ordination bee thought more necessary to the being of a Mini-
ster, than baptisme is to the being of a Christian; or shall an error in or-
dination, have more force to prove one no Minister, than an error in
Baptisme hath to prove one no Christian; or are our Bishops worse than
the Popish Priests, or the corruption in the forme of our ordination,
greater than those that are used in popish Baptisme.

The third thing they object against our Ministerie, Is, that the admi-
stration, and exercise of our function, is not agreeable to the Word, but
Antichristian because (say they) as at our entrance, we sweare Canno-
nicall Obedience to the Bishops; so doe we performe it in our whole admini-
stration, by going to their Courts, by standing, and falling at their com-
mandemens?

Whereunto we answer.

First, that so long as the Christian Magistrate requireth we should
yeld obedience to the Bishops (and that with this limitation, (*viz.*)
only in things lawfull and honest) wee thinke it not unlawfull for us to
give obedience to them, in those things they doe by civill authoritie,
though

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Fourthly, We may lawfully seeke the Bishops approbation, because from his hands only we can receive the civill Magistrates allowance to exercise our Ministerie.

6, Though the Ordination received from the Bishops were as corrupt as baptisme received from popish Priests, Yet may be a lawfull Minister that hath no other Ordination then from the Bishops.

Their third Objection against our Ministerie is, that our administration and exercise of that office whereunto we are thus called, is also Antichristian.

Fifthly, Which is insufficient to warrant their separation, for it is not utterly unlawfull for us to yeld some kinde of obedience to Bishops.

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Secondly, Not bind our selves thereto by oath, so far as we doe.

Secondly, Now as wee may lawfully yeeld some obedience to the Bishops in these things, so wee may lawfully binde our selves by oath to doe it: if our oathes be required or as by the Christian Magistrates authoritie, especially seeing we doe by oath binde our selves, to obey in regard of the civill authoritie, which is committed to them, by the Christian Magistrate.

Thirdly, For our going to their Courts, this we answer. That seeing we doe testifie in our callings, our dislike to the vile, and odious interruptions of their Courts; And doe also utterly refuse to yeeld obedience to any of their unlawfull decrees, we cannot justly bee condemned for appearing in their Courts, or any other place whereunto we are by His Majesties authoritie summoned. And whereas the persons before whom wee appeare are judged usually corrupt, and enemies to that Reformation which wee desire, and some of them also, such as (being no ministers themselves) do by all meanes seeke the disgrace of our calling, and the utter discouragement of such Christians, as in whom they perceive any sparkes of true zeale) wee account this our appearing at their Courts, not onely for an abridgment of our libertie, but also for such a burthen, as wee have just cause to groane under, and to pray, that God would in His good time, move His Majesties heart, to ease us of it. And yet as the Apostle being free was content, for the Churches sake, not onely to become bound, in serving it with the labour of his hands, but also, by subjecting himselfe to those Ceremonies, which in Christ were abolished, so may, and ought we for the Churches sake, to bear this burden, rather than to forsake, or refuse the ministerie, when the Lord hath called, and fitted us unto it.

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For our yeelding to the suspensions, and deprivations, wee answer. That so long as the Bishops suspend, and deprive according to the Law of the Land, wee account of the action herein, as of the act of the Church, which wee may and ought to reverence, and yeeld unto, if they doe otherwise, wee have liberty given us by the Law, to appeale from them, if it bee said, that the Church is not to bee obeyed when it suspends, and deprives us, for such causes as wee in our Consciences know to be insufficient. We answer. That it lyeth in them to depose, that may ordaine; and they may shut, that may open. And that as he may with a good conscience, execute a ministerie, by the ordination, and calling of the Church, who is privie to himselfe of some unfitness (if the Church will presse him to it) so may he who is privie to himselfe, of no fault that deserveth deprivation, cease from the execution of his ministry, when he is pressed therunto by the Church. And if a guiltlesse person put out of his charge by the Churches authoritie, may yet continue in it, what proceedings can there bee against guiltie persons, who in their owne conceit, are alwaies guiltlesse, or will at least pretend so to be. Seeing they also will bee readie a wayes to object against the Churches judgment, that they are called of God, and may not therefore give over the execution of their ministerie at the will of man.

And yet admitting it were merely unlawfull, upon any respect to yeeld any new obedience at all, to the censures of the Bishops; yet how will it follow, that this our unlawfull yeelding, hath force sufficient to make us (*ipso facto*) no true Ministers, unlesse you will say, that the High Priests, who were in Christs time, that took and left their offices, at the will of tyrants, and heathen Princes, Were therefore not to be accounted Priests, for further answer, hereunto we referre the Reader, to that which wee have above said to the fourth thing which they object against the whole body of our Assemblies; And to that also which wee have already answered unto the fourth reason, which they bring against our office.

The speech of the Apostles, which they are wont to object against us in this case, may easily appeare how unskilfully, it is alleadged to them that will consider these three differences betwene their case and ours.

First, they that inhibited the Apostles, were knowne, and professed enemies to the Gospell.

Secondly, the Apostles were charged not to teach in the name of Christ, nor to publish any part of the Doctrine of the Gospell, which commandment might more hardly bee yeelded unto, then that of our Bishops, who though they cannot indure them, which teach that part of the truth that concerneth the good government, and reformation of

Fourthly, To cease from the execution of our ministerie when they suspend or deprive us.

Fourthly, If this obedience wee yeeld to them were utterly unlawfull yet may we be true Ministers of Christ notwithstanding.

The speech of the Apostles.
Acts 4. 19, 20.
15. most unskilfully alleadged against us.
1 Tim. 6. 2.

PART. II.

the Church, yet are they not only content that the Gospel should be preached, but are also preachers of it themselves.

c Galath. 1. 1.

Thirdly, The Apostles received not their calling, and authority from men, () nor by the hands of men, but immediately from God Himself, and therefore also might not be restrained, or deposed by men; whereas wee, though we exercise a function, whereof God is the Author, and we are also called of God to it, yet are we called and ordained by the hands, and ministerie of men, and may therefore by men, be also deposed and restrained from the exercise of our ministerie.

Their fourth Objection against our Ministerie is that our maintenance is not according to Christs directions, but Iewish and Antichristian, which is not of force to condemn our ministerie, Because wee may be the true Ministers of Christ although we receive maintenance from all sorts of men.

The fourth Objection against our ministerie is, *That we are not maintained according to the direction Christ hath given in his Testament, but our maintenance is Iewish, and Antichristian.* That this is a principall matter objected against our ministerie, appeareth in the fourth page of their Collection of letters, and conferences, and sundry other parts of their writings.

And lest they should seeme to say it only, they bring sundry reasons, to prove that our maintenance is such, as no Minister of Christ, can accept, or live by. for say yee, our Ministers receive maintenance from all sorts of men in their parish without difference. This is alleadged in their collection of liberties and page 18. and called in the 145. page of the refutation. *An execrable sacriledge, and covetous making merchandise of the holy things of God, a letting out of our selves to hire to be prephane, for filthy Lucre.* To this first reason they bring against our maintenance, this answer we give.

First, That the Christian Magistrate is bound to use his authoritie for the furtherance of the subjects in all things that concerne godlines, and honestie, and so see that the morall Law bee kept by them, whereas therefore the Christian Magistrate, (in conscience of his dutie) hath provided by the Law, that all his Subjects should (of the increase God giveth them) contribute somewhat towards the maintenance of their Minister; we may truly be said to receive our maintenance, rather from the Magistrate then from the people.

Secondly, the Magistrate may lawfully appoint so much of the Subjects goods (as by Law is given to the Ministers maintenance) to be employed to this or any other good use, as is evident by that, which the Apostle saith, *Rom. 13. 7.*

Thirdly, the Magistrate may without any shew of wrong, compell the subjects to pay this part of their goods, which they give to their Minister, because in Parliament it was voluntarily bestowed, even by the people themselves: whose free act that is, to be accounted, which is enacted and done in Parliament.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, It is evident by the Word, that the offerings which bea-
thens voluntarily brought, and gave to the building, and beautifying of
the Temple were accepted of, as appeareth in the stories. (a)

Fifthly, Seeing the Apostle calleth it our owne bread, wee get by
our honest labours, (b) and our Saviour saith in this case, that the la-
bourer is worthy of his hire, (c) we may with comfort, and good
conscience, take maintenance of the wicked that live in our parishes,
for whose sake, both publickly and privately, we take paines, and to
whom the benefit of our labour is offered, seeing that the Apostle a-
voucheth (d) that such as sow spirituall things amongst people (though
God blesse not their seed) may lawfully, and honestly, reape their car-
nall things.

(a) Exod. 1. 4, 6

Melch. 2. 8.

2 Thes. 3. 12.

(b) 1 Cor. 9. 28

(c) Luke 10. 7

(d) 1 Cor. 9. 11.

Sixthly, As for the testimonie of the holy Scriptures, which our bre-
thren alleadge in this point, wee give this answer unto them: To the
place, *Levit. 22. 25.* we answer.

First, that the meaning is, that a stranger being a Proselyte, might
no more lawfully offer any of these uncleane, and imperfect sacrifices
spoken of in the verses going before, then a Jew might.

Secondly, If the unbelieving stranger were meant here, yet is there
nothing spoken here of the maintenance, which should come to the
Priests, for the intent of the Law, in this place is to shew what manner
of sacrifices should bee offered to the Lord, and not what maintenance
Priests should have, which is evident, both for that the sacrifice is
here called, the bread of their God, and also for that elsewhere
the Priests might receive maintenance, which might have blemish, as
in the first fruits, and first borne. To that place, *Pro. 15. 8.* and all such
like, we answer.

First, that though the action therein spoken of (for the substance thereof)
bee good and lawfully, yet as it cometh from them whose hearts are
not purged by faith, it is indeed abominable in Gods sight, as all other
the actions of the wicked are.

Secondly, That they abuse this place, for it is there meant of the
spirituall services of God, and not of corporall maintenance, and last-
ly, if it were to be understood of the maintenance of the Minister, yet
should not the Minister sinne, in taking it, because they sinne in giving
it; Because by the Law, it was provided, that all Jews cleane, or un-
cleane, good or bad, should pay tythes without exception. To the place
Phil. 4. 18. We answer.

First, That he speaketh not there of maintenance due to the mini-
strie, but of the contribution, made to the afflicted Saints, and to him-
selfe in particular, that had a principall portion, in the sufferings of the
Saints.

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Secondly, if they urge that the maintenance of the Minister is also an odour that smelleth sweet, and a sacrifice acceptable to God; which nothing that proceedeth from the wicked can be: wee referre our selves herein to the answer wee have made to the *Prov. 15. 8.* cited by them to the same purpose.

Secondly, although our maintenance be fixed and certaine.

Their second reason against our maintenance is, *That it is fixed and certaine.* This is alledged in the 61. page of their Discovery, and in sundry other parts of their writings, Concerning which we answer,

First, that this can be no good reason against all our Ministers, seeing that we have some preach ordinarily and painfully, who yet either live wholly of themselves, or take nothing of the people, but that which they give voluntarily.

Secondly, if it be a great fault to live upon a set stipend, yet seemeth it strange unto us, that they should account it so great to make a nullitie of our Ministrie.

(a) *Deut. 14. 22.*
Numb. 35. 2. 9.
Iosh. 21. 18. &c.
2 Ch. 23. 6. 64.

Thirdly, wee can see no reason why it should be thought either unlawfull or inconvenient to set stipends to be given unto, and receaved by the Minister: for first, under *Moses law*, a certaine and set course was prescribed for the Ministers maintenance, and the people appointed what they should give. Now if it be said of the manner of the Leviticall maintenance, that it was Ceremoniall, yet would we faine know what Ceremony or shadow there can be in the certainty thereof: Shall we say that together with the Ceremonie it selfe, all the equitie also and morall reason is abrogated,

(b) *Eze. 45. 1. 5*

Secondly, as *Ezekiel* describing the pattern of the new Sanctuarie that should be under the Gospel; alludeth unto a certaine and set maintenance that should be given to the ministrie: b So there be sundry Phraises and Comparisons in the new Testament used by Christ and the Apostles, from which the same may be very probably gathered to be lawfull and fit, as when the Ministers maintenance is compared to the wages and hire of a servant, c and when it is compared to the souldiers pay, d which both things are certaine and set.

(c) *Luke 10. 17*

2 Tim. 5. 18.

(d) *1 Cor. 9. 7.*

Thirdly, it standeth with sound reason that the Ministers maintenance should be certaine: For first, seeing it is already proved that a sufficient maintenance must necessarily be given to the Minister of the people, how can it be unlawfull, either for the people by their owne promise, or for the Magistrate by law to binde them unto that which they should voluntarily do of themselves? Secondly, by this kinde of maintenance, sundry of the peoples infirmities (as their grudging to give ought when it is in their power to give or not to give, their base estimation likewise of the Minister, and looking for civill dutie at his hand,

and

and many other such like) are best prevented: Yea, we deny that ever any Church was so well informed, wherein the most part of the people had not need to have such infirmities restrained in them, by the wisdom and authority of the Christian Magistrate.

Touching the places of Scripture in this point alleadged, by them we give this answer. First, that they condemne onely the covetousnesse of men, and not the set maintenance of Ministers, which may be received without covetousnesse. Secondly, if they will enforce these places against set payments to the Minister, they may as well enforce them against all set payments to the Prince, to the servant, to the labourer, or any other. Thirdly if not, then seeing the Apostles rule (a) doth concern even the Ministers as well as others, why should it be thought covetousnesse in him to provide a certaine and set maintenance for himselfe and his family, more then the same care is in any other Christian?

(a) 1 Thess. 2. 9.
1 Tim. 6. 8.
Jude 11. 13.

To the place *Mat. 10.* we say that the Commandment which our Saviour Christ gave there to his disciples was temporary, and concerned that especial voyage onely wherein (for their encouragement to the Ministry) our Saviour assureth them, that they should not need to feare the want of maintenance; for he would supply that extraordinarily as it were, by his especial providence, in inclining the hearts of men to maintaine them: And that this is so, may appeare by these reasons. First, if it be a perpetuall rule we may thence gather, 1. that the Minister ought now to have no abiding place, neither two coates, two paire of shoes, nor a staffe; neither that they may possesse any thing of their owne.

(a) 1 Tim. 5. 8.

Verse 7. 8.

Secondly, they then received their gifts of preaching and working of miracles freely without cost, and therefore were bound from covenanting for stipend, to dispende those gifts, receaving no more then for their present necessitie of food and raiment, which cannot be to said of those, whose bringing up in learning is costly, and whose study is painfull.

Thirdly, by the commandment which our Saviour Christ giveth (b) for provision for themselves; And that which *Paul* challengeth, it is evident, that the restraint given, *Mat. 10.* was but temporarie, yea admit it might be proved from hence, that no set maintenance were given to the Ministers during the Apostles time (which cannot be) yet followeth not that there should be none: Now seeing that the Church was then without those nourishing fathers which the Lord promised by the Prophet, (c) without whose authoritie wee see not how that order for forced maintenance could be taken. Neither doubt we to acknowledge even this for a speciall fruit of that blessing promised to come to the

(b) Luke 22. 35 & 36.
1 Cor. 9. 6, 7.
Musb. 10.

(c) Esay 49. 23.

PART II. Church by Christian Magistrates, whereas they said, *that whatsoever is given to the maintenance of Gods Service, should be free, and voluntarie,* and alleadge for that, these places, *Exodus 15. 2. 2 Cor. 8. 12. 2 Cor. 9. 5, 7.* we answer. That the bond of the peoples promise, and Magistrates Law is no hinderance, to the freedom and voluntarines, keeping the service, and obedience of *David* was free and voluntary; Notwithstanding the vow and oath hee bound himselfe with. So was that also which is mentioned in *Nehemiah*, for if Covenanting, should take away the voluntarinesse of the act, then should it not bee lawfull to covenant with servants and labourers or any other; Yea the Lord our God doth binde Himselfe by Covenant, to give that reward to the faith, and obedience of his servants, which yet he giveth most freely and voluntarilie.

*Psal. 119. 106.
Nehem. 10. 38.*

Thirdly. Although we bee maintained by Tythes.

The third reason they alleadge against our maintenance, Is this; *That we are maintained by Jewish tythes, and concerning which, they have these words, In the 60. page of their discoverie; It is evident, who are thus maintained by those Jewish Tythes, and offerings, are not the ministers of Christ, and a little after, these Priests, and people still retain the Leviticall decimations, in the same forme, to the same ends. And page 16. I could never see any difference betweene the Jews and them, save that the Swine-beards, tythe-Piggs and Geese, &c.*

To all which, wee thus answer: First, It is evident, that the tythes are not held amongst us, by vertue of the Leviticall Law, but only by the positive Law of our Land, for proofe whereof, these reasons following may be sufficient.

First, If this kinde of maintenance were given to the Minister, for conscience and obedience to that Law; why should not the first fruits also, offerings and diverse other things, which by a plaine commandment, were due to the Leviticall Priest-hood bee given us as well as tythes?

Secondly, The manner of tything (which in diverse parts of our Land is diversly used, and which through custome also, is many wayes altered) proveth that paying of tythes amongst us, is not according to the Leviticall Law, nor in religious obedience thereunto.

Thirdly, The Law (by consent of the states in the Parliament) having alienated, the tythes in many places, from the Minister, unto the Prince, and other men; doth thereby declare, that it appointeth not the paying of the tythes, by vertue of the Law of God.

Fourthly, Sundry of our Ministers are (and that even in the judgement of our whole Church) lawfully by other meanes maintained, then by tythes, which is also a plaine demonstration, that both the Leviticall

Law is not held to be in force with us; and if it were, wee might yet have some true Ministers in our Land notwithstanding. PART II

Secondly, As the Prince (without any shew of Jewish superstition) may require of the Ministers first fruits, and tenths, and of all the rest of the subjects fifteenes, and subsidies for the maintenance of the wars, and other civill purposes, so doubt we not, but he may as well especially by act of Parliament (which is also the act of the people) require tenths of his people to the maintenance of the ministerie, of which (as wee have said before) he is bound to have a more speciall care, and regard then of the maintenance of the warres, or any other civill estate.

Their fourth reason against our maintenance is, *That it ariseth from popish offerings and mortuaries*: Concerning which, wee answer, as followeth.

First, Their be sundry of our Ministers that receive none at all, against whose Congregations, and Ministers, this reason cannot hold, and many even of them to whom the Law alloweth offerings, have refused them that were accustomed to bee given at the Churchings, and burials, and such other, as the receiving whereof, they see would bee likely to nourish superstition in the people.

Secondly, If all did receive and live by offerings, we see not what pollution can come to their ministerie thereby, for why may not that creature of God, which was first given to profane, and superstitious uses, bee now lawfully translated to the maintenance of Gods service, seeing that even under the Law, translation was lawfull, when (for a Ceremony, to shadow what detestation the people of God should beare to the manners of the heathen, and how they should be separated from them:) Many things were made unclean to the *Jewes*, that are not so to us; So also the Iron, and Brasse, Silver, and Gold of Jericho, was put into the treasure of Gods house, as appeareth in the story of *Joshua*: And *David* dedicated unto the Lord, the brasse, and silver, and gold, of all the Nations, that he subdued; as may also appeare by *Samuel*. Now if those goods that were not onely put a part to an Idolatrous use, by a civill institution, but also actually abused to Idolatry, might yet lawfully be received for the maintenance of the true service of God, how much more may the mony wee receive for offerings, &c. be lawfully taken and enjoyed by us, seeing whatsoever originall the money, and institution had, yet was it never applied to any Idolatrous use.

Thirdly, If those offerings were polluted things, yet are they too accidental to overthrow the very being, and nature of our ministerie.

Fourthly, Although we bee maintained by offerings and mortuaries.

a *Iosua* 6. 24.

b *Sam.* 8. 11.

[illegible]

That, I think, by finding out our clients' first reaction to our new products, we can find out what they like and what they don't like. And that's the reason why I think it's important to have a good first reaction to our new products. And that's the reason why I think it's important to have a good first reaction to our new products.

Second, in all instances of liability, we must be able to identify the person or persons who are responsible for the harm. This is not always possible, especially in cases of negligence, where the harm is caused by a series of events or by a group of people. In such cases, the law often places the burden of proof on the plaintiff to show that the defendant was negligent. This can be a difficult task, especially if the defendant is a large corporation or a government agency. Third, the law must provide a remedy for the harm. This can be in the form of damages, such as money or property, or in the form of specific performance, such as requiring the defendant to do something. The law must also provide a way for the plaintiff to enforce the remedy. This can be done through the courts or through other means, such as arbitration or mediation. Finally, the law must be able to deter future harm. This can be done by imposing penalties on those who violate the law, or by providing incentives for those who follow the law. The law must also be able to adapt to changing circumstances, so that it remains relevant and effective. This is often done through the process of judicial review, where the courts can strike down laws that are unconstitutional or otherwise invalid. The law must also be able to be changed by the legislature, so that it can respond to new challenges and needs. In summary, the law must be able to identify the responsible parties, provide a remedy, enforce the remedy, deter future harm, and adapt to changing circumstances. Only then can it truly be said to be a system of justice.

[illegible]



Our People may be accounted
Members of a true visible

CHURCH.

III. EXCEPTION.

Their third generall exception, is against our people, and the private Members of our Assemblies, whom they affirme to be such, as no true Church of God can consist of.

ANSWER.



He reasons amongst us to account of people, for the members of the true Church are these.

First, We know many in whom (we thinke) we doe discern infallible notes, of an unfained conversion.

Secondly, That all that are (by many of our Ministers) admitted to the Sacrament, and other the privileges of the Church are such as can give account (in some true measure) of their faith, and doe not only generally professe obedience; but when they are convinced of any particular sin, they are also willing to

Our people (say they) are such as cannot be members of a true Church. But we have good reasons to account our people holy & true Members of the visible Church.

PART. III: professe particular sorrow and purpose of amendment.

Thirdly, many of those who are wicked and ignorant, wee cannot see just cause to account them wilfully ignorant, nor obstinately rebellious, and therefore we may lawfully receive them brethren, notwithstanding their ignorance, and sin, and this we thinke the Apostles words will warrant us to doe.

Fourthly, our people in generall professe the true faith, and obedience of Christ, which makes them members of the visible Church, as wee have already proved, and if any being dealt with according to the rule that Christ prescribeth, shall bee found wilfull and obstinate in his ignorance and sin, then as he ceaseth to professe the true faith, and obedience of Christ: So may wee by the Lawes of our Land, cease to account him a member of our Church.

Their first reason against our people, is that their can no separation, bee discerned amongst them but the confus. of all sorts. Which reason is false and insufficient.

The first thing they object against our people is this, *That the ignorant and prophane multitude, as they are confusedly, by our Baptisme made members of our Church, and admitted to all other ch^{ur} privileges thereof, so is there no separation (say they) to be observed amongst them in their ordinary conversation: concerning w^{ch} matter these are their own words in the ninth page of their discovery: All the prophane and wicked of the Land, Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, Heretickes of all sorts, gluttons, riotous, blasphemous, &c. and who not, that dwelleth in this land, or is within the Kings dominions, all without exception, are received into, and nourished in the bosome of this Church, with the Word and Sacraments: none are here refused, none are here kept out? Whereunto we answer,*

Luc. 12. 51, 52

53.

Math. 14. 4, 5

17: 4, 5.

First, That even by the preaching of the Word, that separation which the Scripture so much commendeth, is wrought and evidently to be discovered amongst the people of our Land, and very many of our people there be, that doe carefully shunne the private familiaritie of all notorious offenders.

Secondly, As all our Ministers may by Law, so many of them doe keepe from the Lords Table every ignorant person, and notorious offender.

Thirdly, Many of our Ministers doe refuse to receive such into the Church by Baptisme, whose Parents will not make a confession of true faith and obedience to Christ. Neither doth publike authoritie of Law enforce us to receive any mans Child, against whom it may be manifestly proved, that he professeth not the true faith.

Fourthly, children may lawfully bee admitted to baptism, though both their Parents bee profane, if those who are in the stead of Parents to them, doe require persons for them, and give their promise to the Church

Church for their religious education, seeing they may bee lawfully accounted within Gods covenant, if any of their ancestors, in any Generations were faithfull.

PART. III.

The second thing they object against our people is; *That the best of them are without true faith, because they live not in obedience of Christ; set up among them, nor practise his Ordinances.* Whereunto wee answer.

First, It is a most rash and presumptuous judgement to denie them amongst us to bee a faithfull people, of whom these our bretheren themselves doe know that they have by the hearing of the Word, beene brought to such a faith, as hath beene effectuell in the Reformation of their lives, because (partly for that they know it not, and partly for that they are hindered by authority) they practise not the whole discipline of Christ: And this rash judgement which they give of our people, is so much the more blame-worthy, because they cannot be ignorant, with what care our people have sought by all good, and dutifull meanes the Reformation of the Church: And how much they have bewailed and mourned for the want thereof, for which matter also, we referre the Reader to the answer, we have above given to their fourth and fifth objections against the whole body of our Assemblies.

Secondly, Our people deserve not to be blamed, for that they erect not the discipline; for,

First, They esteeme both our Prince to be a most lawfull and a Christian Magistrate, and our Ministers to bee true Ministers of Christ, by whole meanes, seeing they have received from God, and do still enjoy, not those blessings only, that belong to the comfort of this life, but the meanes of eternall happinesse, and the effectuell assurance of it also; they are justlie afraid, that by enterprising a publike Reformation, not only without, but contrary to the direction, and liking of them, who by Gods Word ought to have, if not the only, yet the principall hand, in that worke, they should highly offend God.

2. They cannot finde any warrant in holy Scripture for them that are private Members of the Church, to erect the discipline, no not though the Magistrate and Ministers, who should deale in this worke were altogether profane and ungodlie, in deviding the Land of Canaan, which was a type of Heaven, and of the Church under the Gospell, and in all the Church causes, that were dealt in under the government of *Isa. 44.* which was a type of Christs government, neither private persons, nor the whole multitude, had the managing of matters, but the people did all by the Elders, and chiefe Fathers, which also was commanded

So in publike Church causes under the Gospell, the Lord hath ordai-

a Exod. 20. 5.

Their second

Objection

against our peo-

ple is that

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Which is also

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ficient, for first

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formed their

owne persons

and families,

and carefully

sought the

reformation of

the Church.

Isa. 19. 51. &

21. 1. & 22. 14

b Num. 34. 16.

28.

PART III. ned certaine speciall men chosen out from among the people, by their consent to rule and governe the rest.

c 1 Tim. 5. 17.

2 Cor. 4. 14.

d Numbr. 4. 15.

with the first,

1 Chron. 13. 7, 10

Num. 4. 30.

with 1 Sam. 6.

19.

Num. 16. 40.

2 Cor. 3. 10.

Heb. 5. 4. with

2 Chron. 26. 16.

19.

Acts 14. 23.

2 Cor. 3. 1. 34.

Ezech. 44. 8, 9.

1 Cor. 4. 7.

1 Pet. 2. 9.

Acts 15. 9.

And where God hath sanctified and separated a speciall sort of men to any office, or the administration thereunto belonging, there hath hee restrained all others that are not of the same sort, from doing the actions properly belonging to that office, as may well appeare by comparing these places of holy Scripture together.

Therefore also wee see the faithfull, at *Lisru*, *Iconium*, and *Amiochiab*, had no Elders, till the Apostles by their consent, ordained them: No more had they at *Creta* till *Titus*, was sent to that purpose.

To the places of holy Scripture, which they alleadge for this their second Objection against our people? we answer.

First, That some of them, concerne the invisible Church, and therefore are ignorantly applied to the description of them that are members of the Church visible.

As if no measure of faith, and holinesse, were to be allowed by men in the judging of the members of the Church visible, but that only which the Lord Himselfe alloweth of in judging of the elect Members of the visible Church: Whereas it is evident, that to the making of the Members of the visible Church, an outward obedience and profession of faith is sufficient, though there be no inward grace, nor truth in the heart.

Secondly, That some of them require indeed, that every Christian should seeke the Kingdome of God, and the place where God is worshipped, according to his Word, submit themselves to the Yoke of Christ, and to obey him in all his Ordinances: but that the people without either the Magistrate, or Ministers helpe, or consent, should reform the Church, and erect the discipline, they are so faire from commanding, that if they be well compar'd, with that wee have above said, they will be found to command the contrarie.

The third thing they object against our people, Is, *That though some of them had once bene faithfull, yet by tolerating in their Assemblies, the open prophane, by wanting power to cast them out, and communicating with them in their worship of God, they are now become not the Church of Christ?* Whereunto we answer.

First, that the godly which are in our Assemblies, do not at all tolerate the wicked protane, but doe as much (as in them lieth) shew their dislike to them, mourning also for their profanenesse, and for the want of Christian discipline, whereby they might be separated: Yea the very Lawes of our Church (as hath bene above said) doe separate from our Assemblies the open prophane.

Secondly,

Secondly, admit they did not at all shut out the prophane (either because they know not their right, or for that they are hindred and restrained to doe it, or that they sin in not using their right in this case) or if it were granted that the people, even the private members of the assemblies had full authoritie given them by Christ, without the Ministers or Magistrates consent to cast out and excommunicate the open profane (the contrary whereof hath been before sufficiently proved) yet might they as lawfully for want of power, or for such inconveniences tolerate the prophane amongst them, and so forbear the execution of their authoritie in this case, as either *David* did spare *Isab.* or *Amaziah* those rebels that slew his father because they were not strong enough to doe justice upon them.

2 Sam 3 39.
2. Kings 14 5.

Thirdly, the communicating in Gods service with these open sinners, whom the godly in some of our assemblies are enforced to communicate with, or to want the benefit of Gods publike worship is not sufficient, either to make him profane, or pollute unto them the holy things of God; for proove whereof we alleadge, First, the examples of the godly that lived under the Ceremoniall law. The Prophets either served not God at all in the Temple, or else they joyned in Gods service with many that were notoriously stained with grosse sinnes: for who are they whose sinnes the Prophets so mightily cry out upon, (d) but such as were admitted to the publike worship of God.

Thirdly, they may be true members of the Church, though they doe communicate in Gods worship with the open profane, as may appeare by the example of the godly that lived under the law.

If the *Babylonians* and the *Caldeans* should violently have included themselves into the Church assemblies of Gods people in the time of their captivitie; should the godly Jewes by such presence of the wicked which they wanted power to hinder, ether have beene perswaded to cease from publike worship of God, or have been polluted by it. Was *Annah* and *Simeon*; or the blessed Virgin and *Ioseph* polluted by communicating (a) with the Jewes in their time, when not only the people, but also the Priests with whom they communicated, were both in doctrine and life so much corrupted: Or did this staine all that Justice for which *Zacharias* is so commended for that hee kept his course, and so served in the Temple even in that corrupt age. But what need further examples be brought for the practise of the godly that lived under the law, seeing it is evident that our Saviour himselfe was by Circumcision made a member of that corrupt church of *Jury*, and presented in that temple when hee was an infant, and when hee came to yeares of discretion he communicated with them in the publike service of God; for he went with his Parents to the Paschever, (d) he went to the feast of the Tabernacles, (e) his custome was to frequent the Synagogues on the Sabbath day, even before he entred into the Ministrie, (f) yea he

d *Esay* 1. 10.
Jer. 5. 1. 9. and
7 8. 11.
Ezek. 16. 49. 51.
and 21. 25. 26.
a *Luke* 2. 22.
27. 36.
b *Luke* 1. 6. 8.

Luke 2. 22. 23.

d *Luke* 2. 41.
e *Iohn* 7 10.
f *Luke* 4 16.

PART III.

g *Mu. 23,*
1, 2, 3.

commandeth the people so far to hearken unto, and to follow the directions of those wicked Scribes and Pharisees, as they kept themselves within the chaire of *Moses*, and taught his doctrine (g): But this reason taken from the examples of the godly that lived under the law, *Henry Barrow* in the 39. and 40. pages of his *Discovery* seeketh to shift off after this manner, viz. *That nothing then defiled the godly, if the Priest and People with whom they communicated were not Legally and Ceremonially polluted: for the Priests and Ecclesiasticall State then were not to meddle with the faults of manners, nor to separate any from the Congregations for morall finnes: but it is now under the Gospel far other wise where all things are become new and spirituall, and where all manner of known finnes obstinately held and maintained, have as great force to defile men in the judgement of the Church, and to deserve separation as legall pollutions, leprosy, running issues and other diseases had then.*

To which his reply we answer that morall transgressions did defile men, and make them worthy to be separated from Gods publike worship then, as well as they doe now; for it is evident by the law that they who had morally offended, were kept from the Congregation till they had professed their repentance, and till attonement had beene made for them.

Levit. 4. 13. 14.
23. 27. and 5.
16. and 6. 27.
Num 15. 22. 25
b Levit. 5. 2. 3.

For to what purpose can wee imagine that publike confession bringing a sin offering, and seeking of attonement to be made by the Priest should be enjoyned him that had committed a morall transgression, if without the doing of these things, he might be still partaker of the publike worship, and if these things do not import a restraint from the publike worship, then will it follow, that the morall transgression was left free from all censure and Ecclesiasticall punishment, notwithstanding this his open and manifest contempt of Gods ordinances: for there is no other censure appointed in the whole law for the punishment of this contempt, and consequently the whole worship of God did lie open to most notorious profanation and confusion,

c Levit. 18. 23.
24. 29.
a 2 Chron.
23. 29.

Secondly, the man that did morally offend is as well called uncleane by the holy Ghost, as he that had transgressed the Ceremoniall law, and the very same word (*Tame*) that is put for Ceremoniall uncleanness in one place, (*b*) is put for morall uncleanness in another, (*c*) and consequently where it is said in the book of *Chronicles*, that by *Jehoiadab* his appointment, porters were set by the gates of the house of the Lord, that none that was uncleane in any thing should enter in, it may and ought to be understood of the restraining of them that were morally, as well as those that were Ceremonially uncleane.

Thirdly, the Priest was commanded to deale with him, that in some things

things sinned of ignorance against the Morall Law, even in the same sort as he was to deale with him that was legallie polluted through ignorance.

Fourthlie, Hee that was privie to himselfe of Morall transgression, was bound in Conscience to abstaine from the sacrifices and Sacraments though he were not ceremonially polluted: And were not the Church Governours, then bound to separate such, when they also, and the Congregation were made privie to such transgressions?

But why spend we so many words in confuting this most absurd assertion, seeing themselves in the 89. and 90. pages of their refutation, *affirme, and labour to prove, by many testimonies, that under the Law many were to bee separated from the Congregation for morall transgressions.*

A second reason to prove that the godly are not polluted, by communicating in the true worship of God, with knowne and open sinners, may bee taken from the example of the godly that have liyed in the Churches under the Gospell.

The godly that were in the Church of *Cor.* remained Saints, and faithfull till (e) though they had communicated in Gods worship, with the incestuous person, with such as accounted fornication no sinne, as came profanely to the Sacrament, as denied the Resurrection.

The faithfull in *Pergamus* receive no pollution, from them that liyed amongst them, and joyned with them in Gods worship, and yet maintained the doctrine of *Balaam*, and of the *Nicolaitans*, nor they of *Thyatira* from *Jesabel*, who was tollerated amongst them to teach and deceive, and cause many to commit fornication amongst them, and to eate meate sacrificed to Idoles.

And (to let passe all other examples) we would gladly know this of our brethren themselves, whether if it should so fall out in their Assemblies (as it may in the most perfect Church, that is upon the earth) that some one wicked man should remaine amongst us, either through the ignorance, or partiallity, or feare of the Church governours, they should for that one mans sake, deprive themselves of all the comfort they finde in their meetings; if they would not, why give they not the like liberty to the godly amongst us, who have, and doe still looke for as much comfort in our Assemblies, as they doe in theirs; If they would then, who is so blinde, as not to see that their Congregation is a very Babel, and place full of miserable confusion, or so mad, as either to joyne himselfe unto it, or being joyned, to remaine in it, any longer? If they alleadge that the former examples are all unfitly applyed unto our people, for that they were all true Churches, whereunto the godly above named, did

joyne:

b Levit 5. 1.
Levit. 6. 1, 7.

Esay 1. 10, 14.
Ier. 7. 9, 11.
Mat. 5. 23, 24.

Secondly, Of the godly that lived under the Gospell.

d 1 Cor. 1. 2.

Revel. 2. 14, 15.
Revel. 2. 20.

PART III. joyne themselves, and therefore were not easily to be forsaken, and the worship wherein they communicated with the wicked, was the true worship of God (whereas neither our Assemblies are true Churches, nor our worship the true worship of God,) or they continued not in this their fault, with that obstinancie, that we and our people doe?

We answer, That they begge that, which is in question between us, for neither doe our people doubt whether it be the true Church, and worship of God, wherein they communicate, nor doe they see how they have beene convinced of sinne in this action. And we have already proved at large, both that our Church, is a true Church, and our worship the true worship of God, and that we cannot justlie bee charged with obstinate continuance, in those wants and corruptions, that are now amongst us.

To the places of Scripture which they bring against our people in this point in the 68. page of their Collection of Letters, and conferences? We answer, that they are all most unskilfullie applied, for although some ^a of them doe prove, that Gods people should bee separated from the rest of the world: Some ^b of them that they may not offer sacrifice unto a multitude of Gods, nor joyne with Idolators, neither in the false worship of God, nor in voluntary leagues, and familiaritie; ^c other some that the Minister must deale sincerely, in the delivery of Gods Message to his people, not mixing any vile opinion, or assertion of his owne, with the precious Word of God, nor applying the Word to their humours and liking, but cause them rather to frame, and apply themselves unto it, ^d yet doe no one of these prove either, that the communicating in the true worship of God, with some that are prophane, is of force, to cut off a people from the Church, and covenant of God; or that the godly should rather abstaine from the exercise of Gods true worship, than use them in the company of some others that are ungodly.

Or that it is the sinne of the people, that such are not separated from amongst them; And surely wee cannot but wonder that our brethren doe thus deale with the sacred Word of God; they use to fill the Margents of their bookes with such store of places of Scripture, that the simple might thinke that they have even a cloud of witnesses against us; when themselves could not but know, that the Scripture is by them dragged as it were by violence, to beare witnesse in a matter, for which they have not one word to speake.

^a Levit. 20. 24.

^b John 15. 16.

^c Esay 65. 11.

^d Ezech. 16. 25.

^e 2 Cor. 6. 14. 17.

^f Jer. 15. 19.

The Conclusion.

From these three Exceptions that have beene above answered, they inferre this conclusion, that therefore they may lawfully, and ought to separate themselves from us in such sort, as they doe. In this conclusion, there are two Articles, whereunto we will answer severally.

The first Article in their conclusion is this: *The Assemblies which we goe from, are such, as the Word of God doth warrant us to goe from?*

Whereunto we answer; That wee may much more strongly conclude upon that which we have above written, that because we have a true Church, consisting of a lawfull ministerie, and a faithfull people, therefore they cannot separate themselves from us, but they must needs incur the most shamefull and odious reproach of manifest Schisme.

The places of holy Scripture, which they alledge to warrant their separation by; we affirme to be of no force, to conclude that which they are brought for, which shall more plainly appeare when they are considered of a part, and sorted so, as the variety of their nature requireth.

The first sort of their testimonies concerne only that private, and voluntary familiaritie, which Christ hath forbidden to have with the wicked that live in the Church, this shall appeare to bee the true meaning of the Apostle, even of that place of 1 Cor. 5. which in the 218. page of their refutation, and in sundrie other places of their writings, they urge so, as it may seeme they judge it to be of more force, for this purpose, then all the rest.

1 Cor. 5. 9, 13
Ephes. 5. 7, 10, 11
2 Thes. 3. 6, 14.
15.

First the word *συναντισμους*, used by the Apostle, both in this place and the 2 Thes. 3. doth with a double composition with two such propositions, note a most familiar acquaintance and conversation.

Secondly, It cannot be shewed in all the Scripture, where this phrase to (eate) being barely and generally set downe, without any addition is taken for the eating of the Sacrament.

Thirdly, If the Apostle had meant a separation in the Church Assemblies, he would have commanded the Church rather to cut off and to put from them, these wicked men then to separate themselves from the wicked.

Fourthly, It appeareth by the tenth and eleventh verses, being compared

PART III. pared together, that the Apostle wrote the second time to cleare his meaning in that which hee had wrote before; And therefore in this place, hee requireth no more separation from brethren, that are fornicators, and then the Corinthians did think he had (in a former letter) from such fornicators were out of the Church; Now the Corinthians could never imagine, that when the Apostle forbade them to eate with Heathens and Infidels that were fornicators, and his meaning should bee to forbid them the communicating with such in the service of God; for they never had accustomed to communicate so; And therefore the separation he requireth, must needs be meant only of private, and voluntary familiarity. *If they object that the Apostle in requiring separation from the wicked in private conversation, doth much more forbid all societie with them in the worship of God, seeing that thereby we joyne our selves much nearer together then by any civill fellowship (as they affirme in the 218. page of their refutation)* We answer, that the reason followeth not; for, First, It is in a private mans power to keepe from his first Table any wicked man, in whose hand, yet it lyeth not to shut any from the Lords Table.

Secondly, Each Christian as he is bound, by the commandement of God to the exercises of Religion, especially in such as are publike, so is he to forbear the private familiaritie of the wicked.

Thirdly, Even as a Christian may eate privately with a wicked man, or with an excommunicate person, in some cases, when his company cannot be eschewed, as being in an Armie, or Prison, or shippe upon the Sea, amongst a companie of vile wicked men, being by the Prince, or any other that hath power enforced either to doe so, or utterly to want all food, so much more is it lawfull for a Christian to eate with the wicked man at the Lords Table, wherein he is enforced either to doe so, or utterly to want all the great benefits and comfort that God offereth him in the Sacrament.

a Matth. 7. 15.

Rom. 16. 17.

2 Tim. 3. 5.

Titus 1. 6.

The second sort of their Testimonies, whereby they labour to warrant their separation, concerne only the avoyding and taking heede of false Prophets, blinde guides, hypocriticall, and prophane deceivers, and therefor they can with no peace to their consciences, ground their separation upon them, till they have sufficiently proved, that not some of our Ministers, but all are not only faultie in their practise, but teach also unsound, and corrupt doctrine, which they will never bee able to prove.

1 Cor. 6. 14. 18
Revel. 18. 4.

The third sort of their Testimonies, doe indeed partly concerne that separation, which Christians should make from Idolatours in the service of God, yet doe they no wayes serve, to justifie this their separation from

from us unless they could prove (which they are not able to doe) that those Assemblies which these Scriptures command a separation from, were in the profession of truth equall to us, or that the corruptions which are amongst us, are equall unto such as were in those Assemblies. Besides these testimonies, they seeke by two reasons, to prove the necessity of their separation from us, whereof the first is taken from the hurt that may come to the true Christian by communicating with the wicked; The other from the hurt he may doe to the wicked, with whom he doth communicate.

Concerning the first, they have these words, in the 97. page of their refutation. *A little Leaven, leaveneth the whole lump, so one openly unworthy received to the Lords Supper, maketh all the Communicants guilty.* And in the 34. page of their discoverie; *The knowne, and suffered sinne of any one member is contagious to all such as communicate in Prayers, and Sacraments, with such an obstinate offender, and maketh them as guilty in Gods sight, as he himselfe is.* Whereunto we answer.

First, That we have already proved by many examples (in the answer wee have above given unto the last thing they object against the people, and private members of our Church) that the godly receive no contagion from the wicked, with whom they are inforced to communicate in the true worship of God.

Secondly, That their assertion may by reason, appeare evidently to be most absurd, for if the presence of the wicked should of its own nature make the action of the Sacrament, and prayer voyd, and of none effect to the faithfull, that communicate with him, then should we never without great doubting, and wavering communicate in those holy exercises in such a Congregation, where all that we joyne with, are not well knowne unto us, for feare their should bee in the company, some open offenders whom our selves know not of. If our knowledge, and privity to his sin, be the thing that makes his presence contagious to us, especially when we have admonished him, and by all meanes testified our dislike to his sinne, so farre as in us lyeth. Then how is the Prophet to bee understood, when he saith; the wickednesse of the wicked shall be upon his owne head, but admit this was granted that the presence of the wicked in prayer, and Sacrament, did infect the godly; how will they excuse their refusal to heare the Word preached in our Assemblies, seeing it is to cleere by the Apostles speech, that the preaching of the Word, might be of force, to doe them good, though some that joyned with them in the hearing of it were Infidels.

a Eze. 18. 20.

b Cor. 14. 24.
25.

To their second reason, wherein they pretend a charitable regard of us, who by their joyning with us in Gods worship, may be hardened in the like-

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c Ephes. 5. 11.

We answer, that the godly man who hath reprov'd the open offender, shunn'd his private familiarity, and hath gone so farre in testifying his dislike to his sinne, as the bounds of his calling will permit, is no way accessary to his sinne, nor hath any fellowship with the *unfruitfull Works of darknesse*, and if that any wicked man will imagine, that the godly doe not much dislike him, because they will not for his sake, shun the publike worship of God; it is an offence taken and not given, and therefore such as wherewith the conscience of a godly man need not to be troubled.

Thus have we answered, that which they pretend for the warrant, and necessitie of their separation from our Assemblies. And now lest any should be justly offended by thinking that in this apologie, we make for our Church, wee doe any way plead for *Baal*, or seeke to daube up the breaches of our Church with untemper'd mortar, and so runne our selves into the danger of that curse, which the Lord denounceth against them, *that cal. darknesse light, and speake good of evil.*

We therefore freely confesse, that there are (indeed) in our Church great corruptions, and that is the great sinne of our Ministers, that they doe not with so much zeale, and courage reveale and shew their dislike of them, and of our people, that they mourne not, nor seeke by all humble and earnest meanes to God, and the Magistrate for Reformation of them, as they ought to doe. And yet (though many in this Land, doe both know, and mourne, and make knowne also in their callings their great dislike unto those corruptions that are amongst us, as much as any of these brethren with truth can doe, we dare confidently affirme, that the corruptions of our Church, are not such, as for which any Christian may make separation from us, and that we are hereby induced to avouch, because wee finde that in the Old, and New Testament, as hath bene above said, as many, and as hainous corruptions to have bene in such Assemblies, as from which no separation was ever taught or practised.

Secondly, Though we did grant that (upon warrant of some places, that they bring) there might lawfully (upon due regard of some circumstances) a separation be made even from our Assemblies, yet do we affirme, that for as much as they have failed in sundry of those circumstances, that therefore their separation, is utterly unjustifiable, for whereas they could not with any just warrant to their consciences, separate themselves from us, till they had found us obstinate in our corruptions, and temptuous scornors of all good meanes used for reformatory us, (as is evident by the example of such separations as are commended in the Word)

Word) (d) we affirme that they have departed from us before they could (with any charitie or good conscience) be so perswaded of us. And this we doubt not to prove to their owne consciences, and to all that know them well, by these reasons following. PART III
(d) *Act* 13. 45.
46. and 19. 8, 9.

First, they separated themselves from us before that either by writing or any competent meanes, they had soundly convicted us, or manifested unto our judgement the dangerous errors we held, wherein they have manifestly transgressed the rule of the word: (a) we grant indeed the truth and necessitie of the government of Christ prescribed in the word, which hath beene sufficiently manifested to the Church, and that our Church hath beene sufficiently convinced of many grosse corruptions; but that for the waite of some parts of discipline, our Church should be no Church, or that for the corruptions amongst us, our Ministers should be no true Ministers, or our people no faithfull people (which are the very fundamentall principles of their Schisme, and almost the very matter of difference betwixt them and us.) In these points wee deny that either to this day they have sufficiently convinced us, or that before the first time of their separation) they hath in any measure used meanes to convince us. (a) *Act* 19. 3. 9.
2 *Tim*. 4. 2.
Tit. 1. 10, 11.
and 3. 10.

Secondly, after they had convicted us in Judgement, they should have (by brotherly admonition and exhortation, sought to perswade us unto the love and practise of the truth revealed, and to the hatred and forsaking of the manifested corruptions (b) which is evident they did not before their separation. (b) 2 *The* 3.
14. 15.
Tit. 3. 10.
Heb. 10. 15.

Thirdly, the Scripture forbiddeth the Church to eject a private member, till in all patience and long suffering, his repentance hath been waited for, and the fruit of the aforesaid meanes expected (c) which evidently reproveth their hastie and sudden departure from us, either before, or suddenly after they had used the meanes aforesaid, especially seeing that in all reason more long-sufferance should be used by such private members as they were toward a whole Church, than by a whole Church towards private members. (c) 2 *The* 3.
14. 15.
2 *Tim*. 2. 24, 25
and 2 *Tim*. 4. 2.

Fourthly, whereas they should have used all the meanes aforesaid in meeknesse, humilitie and love, mourning also for the hardnesse of our hearts, whereby the meanes became frustrate unto us. d It is evident that their zeale in dealing against us, hath beene like the rash and undiscerning zeale spoken of, and reprov'd in the sons of *Zebulun*. e And hath favoured altogether of uncharitablenesse and not of love: for as all they that once have declined to that Schisme, are found to be exceedingly proud and disdainfull towards all that are contrary minded; yea even such as (before they were infected with that leaven) were patternes of d *Eph* 4. 15.
2 *Tim*. 2. 25.
Tit. 3. 2.
H. b. 10. 24. 25.
e *Mat*. 3. 5.
Luke 9. 55.

PART III. of all love, modesty and humility unto others; so will they not acknowledge nor reverence any of the most excellent graces that God hath given unto any of his servants amongst us, nor so much respect them, as the very Papists will doe; no they professe greater detestation and despite to the most godly and most sincere men amongst us, then they doe to such as are most notorious in profaness, and malice to the truth. To which purpose also wee desire that the spirit whereby *Henry Barrow* was directed in writing his last bookes may be well examined.

Fifthly, whereas by the equitie of the rule which our Saviour himselfe giveth, and according to the practise of the Apostolike Church, wee should have had our corruptions made knowne to some other Reformed Churches, and by them we should have beene convinced and admonished before these our brethren could rightly judge us as heathens and publicanes, we affirme that they (as if the Word of God had come out from them, or had come unto them onely) have by their disorderly separation, not onely despised and robbed us of our right; but all other christian Churches in the world besides.

Sixtly, they have not so much as protested the cause of their separation from us to the particular Congregations, whereof before their departure they were accounted by others, and did also acknowledge themselves to be members.

Seaventhly, those of them which once exercised the places of the Ministrie amongst us, and received for the same the reward due which they call *Balaams* wages, have not before, or since their departure, made actuall restitution of that which was (if their opinions be true) most unjustly received, nor yet shewed themselves willing so to doe, to their abilitie which notwithstanding by the law of God they are most strictly bound to doe.

The second Article in their conclusion is this, *That the Assemblies which they goe and joyne themselves unto, are such as the Word of God commandeth them to goe unto:* whereunto we give this answer. That if they had followed the direction of Gods Word when they had left us for our corruptions and wants as they charge us with, they should have joyned themselves to some other Reformed Churches which are pure from our corruptions, and amongst whom the discipline of Christ is rightly established: as we finde the faithfull Levites and people did in the dayes of *Aroboam* and every wise hearted Christian, will hold it to be a reason of great force against them that they have made separation, not from us onely; but from all other Reformed Churches in the world: For thereby they appeare to have beene of this judgement, that till they

arose, there was not a true constituted visible Church in the whole world knowne unto them : unto which they might have joyned themselves.

Secondly, the Assemblies which they erected, and joyned themselves unto, if they be looked into with a Christian and indifferent eye, shall well appeare to be much more deformed than many of those are, which they have forsaken, for proofof whereof, we desire the Readers, to weigh well with the weights of the Sanctuary, and to try by the touchstone of the Word certaine points of doctrine, which they have both brewed, and broached to the world in their printed Books. Then secondly their practise and dispositions. All their Paradoxes, and absurd opinions, we will not set downe, but in some few, we will give the Readers a taste of the rest.

In the 138. page of their discovery they affirme, *That such an Idolatrous shape cleaveth to every stone of our Materiall Churches, as by no means can be severed from them, while there is a stone left standing upon a stone*, so that neither they can be used to the worship of God, nor we have any use of them, seeing that they are execrable, and devoted to destruction. In the 167. page of the same booke they teach : *That to every Christian God hath given his holy sanctifying spirit, to open unto them, and to lead them in to all truth*. Much like unto this, is that which they wright in the 161. page of their refutation : *That it is an execrable position, to say that the Church, and every member thereof is in some spirituall bondage to sinne*.

Touching the Magistrates authority, besides that by the whole tenour of their writings, it appeareth, that they hold the people may take in hand the publike Reformation of the Church, and erect the whole discipline not only without, but contrary to the Christian Magistrates liking and consent ; they doe also directly affirme, page 218 and 219. of their discovery : *That God hath in the holy Scripture made most perfect, and necessary Lawes, both for the Church, and Common-wealth, and that he requireth of the King, and Magistrate, to see their Lawes executed, and not to make new*.

Neither doe they judge ever a whit more durifullly of the Churches of God, for of them they use to speake, as if their had beene no true Church in the world, till they sprung up. Nor were at this time any right constituted Church Assembly in the world, but their owne : for in the Epistle to the Reader which they prefixed before their discovery and in the first page thereof, they have these words. *The whole land* (I say not the whole world) *hath layn so long, and is so deepe set in the darkness, &c.* And in the second page : *Although the truth hath long layn hid, and buried, and be now impugned of all men*. But why should we

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wre wonder that they judge so erroneously of men, seeing the sacred Worship of God, they hold, that it may receive pollution from men that deale in it, for in the 30. page of their discovery, *They teach that the open sinne of the Minister, defileth the Sacrament, and Prayer, administered by them.* Yea in the 34. page they goe somewhat further, and say: *That the knowne, and suffered sinne of any one member, is contagious to all such as communicate with him, in that estate, and maketh them all as guiltie in Gods sight, as he himselfe is.*

Touching the Articles of our faith, which by all the godly, in all ages have beene called the Apostles creed; Thus they speake, in the 76. page of their discoverie: *Their forged pascbry, commonly called the Apostles Crede.* The Article of Christs descending into Hell what sence soever it be taken in, they call in the 48. page of their refutation; *That Blasphemous Article of our Faith.* Besides these grosse absurdities they hold against other points of wholsome doctrine, let the Reader guesse at the judgment they have in the manner of Church government (wherein they would appeare to be better scene, then all the godly learned in the world besides) by these few things, which we will offer to his consideration. First, whereas they have in their writings, disclaimed the discipline which wee desire, and other reformed Churches have received, they have never yet clearly set downe, what discipline it is which themselves stand so much for. In the 27. page of their discoverie, when they have scoffed at the discipline we seeke, they offer words to this effect. *That without the power, and privilege of the diligent watch of every member, but chiefly of the Rulers, and Elders, the Word of God is made an Idoll, the Sacrament sacrilegious, and all things we doe, odious and abominable to the Lord:* Whereby it appeareth, they are of opinion, that there can be no true Religion there, where either, there is no Eldership established, or where the Elders faile in the execution of their office, or where any one private member of the Church shall faile in doing the Office of a Watchman, and censurer to the rest; much like to this, is that which they write in the 37. page of their refutation, *That the greater Minister in the Church, any more power to retaine, and loose the sinne of the least member, then the same member, hath to binde, or loose his sinne.* In the 119. page of their discoverie, speaking of the Church government, which hath beene sought for amongst us, and received by other reformed Churches, they have these words. *The thing is false, they corrupt, in that they add new devises of their owne, as their Pastors suspensio from their Sacraments, their set continued Synods, their selfe election of Ministers, their settled supreme Council, whereby they have well expressed what they mean, in the 29. and 299. pages of their refutation*

utation when they affirme, *that the Church hath no power, to make any Lawes of indifferent things.* And page 193. of their discovery: *That the people, without any Minister, may give ordination, and full calling in to the ministry.*

Secondly, As their judgment is erroneous, so is the practise of their discipline in their Assemblies most disorderly; For, first none can gather Churches from Infidelitie, nor may goe about it, but only such as are appointed to it, by our Saviour Christ, and he hath appointed none for that worke but Ministers, which also themselves in the fourth page of the preface, prefixed to the refutation, doe confesse, we would gladly know by what ministrie, their Assemblies were first gathered; by what presbyterie were the Ministers, that first gathered their Assemblies examined, and ordained with imposition of hands: Secondly, when the first were gathered, what foundation had they to ground their faith, and doctrine upon (especially in these points of controversie) when they neither had any other translation of the Scripture then that which they received from us, whom they judged no better than Heretickes, and Infidels, nor any one among them, who by the knowledge in the tongues, was able to examine our translation, by the originall Scriptures.

Thirdly, How great a disorder it is, that in their Assemblies, private persons are allowed to interpret the Scriptures publicly; and that they hold faith may even ordinarily be wrought by private men. Where God hath separated, and sanctified a speciall sort of men, to any office, and the administration thereunto belonging; there he hath restrained others, that are not of that sort, from ordinarie doing of the actions properly belonging unto that office, as may appeare by many Testimonies, and examples. Now it is evident that in the Old, and in the New Testament, the Lord did separate the Priests and Levites, Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, to the publicke Administration of the Word, and Prayer of the Sacrifices, and Sacraments of the Church, how then shall any other presume to meddle therewith?

The Priests and Levites, who had ever by inheritance, some right to all the services of the Tabernacle might not lawfully exercise the meanest service, till they were specially called, and consecrated thereunto, how much lesse then, might any other deale in the publicke service of God without a publicke calling thereunto? Wee are not ignorant that they are wont to alledge many testimonies of Scripture, to warrant this disorder by, but alas they doe it very ignorantlie; For many of them whose examples they cite, were by speciall calling separated to the Office of preaching.

a Exod. 28. 6

29.
Levit. 8. 34.

The severitie Disciples are said to have beene sent by *C* *h* *a* *r* *i* *s* *t*,
L *b* *P* *a* *u* *l*

PART III. ^a Paul and Barnabas, when they preached at Antioch, of Pisidia, were not onely lawfull Ministers, but (for ought that can appeare by this place to the contrary) they were so reputed also by the Ruler of the Synagogue, to whom their publike, and famous preaching in so many Assemblies before, with the approbation of the Jewes, could not bee unknowne; The faithfull men that the Apostles writes of to Timothy, ^d who should teach others also, were such only, as should be both instructed by Timothy, and receive authoritie from him to do it. Of some other mentioned in their quotations, it is very probable, that they were not private men, but had a speciall calling to the Office of preaching. The Disciples, that being scattered through persecutions went about preaching, may very well be thought to have bene Ministers, rather than private men, unless we shall imagine there were no Ministers in Jerusalem before the Church was scattered, but the Apostles only, and Philip who is also called an Evangelist, is the only man of name amongst all these scattered Disciples, that preached; The Prophets mentioned in the 1 Co. 14. is very likely, were either such as whose extraordinary gifts did sufficientlie prove to the Church, that they were extraordinarye raised up, and called of God, or else such as being separated to the work of the ministerie, were by that exercise of their gifts to bee fitted to the full execution of that office, as those children of the Prophets were, for the like purpose trained up in these Schooles of the Prophets mentioned in the Old Testament.

And as they cannot conclude out of these places, that those Prophets were meere private men, so shall they not make the name of a Prophet given in any place of holy Scripture to a meere private man.

The preaching mentioned, Luke 8. 39. the expounding of the way of God, Acts 18. 26. the exhorting spoken of, 1 Thes. 5. 14. was not Ecclesiasticall, or Church preaching but only private, and domestick instruction.

^a Phil. 1. 15, 16.
^b Peter 3. 11.

Some other places which they alleadge, concerne neither public preaching, nor private instruction, but onely the constant profession of the truth, and holy conversation which God requireth of every Christian.

Thirdlie the grosse disorders that are to be found in their Assemblies we have mentioned, to which the strange choise of their Ministers may be added. For by what Testimonie of holy Scripture can they warrant the admitting or choosing in to the ministerie, such a one, as within some six, or eight weekes before was transplanted from so Antichristian a Church and ministerie as they reckon ours to be? As not onely Master Francis Johnson, but sundrie other of their Ministers have bene.

Sure wee are that herein they have done directly contrary to the rule of the holy Apostle, and for smaller faults then this they are ready to say against us in the 127. page of their refutation, *That he that hath not a true and right calling unto his Office, is no true Minister, but an Usurper, an Intruder, a Thief, a Murderer, &c.* But what shall we need to reckon up any more of the disorders that may be noted in their Church government, seeing it is not possible but that those Assemblies should be full of confusion and disorder, where no Church censure can passe without the consent of every private man, and wherein every member is made equal in power and authoritie with the Ministers and Elders of the Church. These things being so, what is there to be seene amongst them, whereby so many simple Christians are deceived and moved to forsake us, and joyne to them? Save onely that shew of sinceritie and zeale, and holy conversation wherein they are thought to go far beyond any of us.

Concerning which wee say, that although the conversation of many of our people and Ministers also be very scandalous, and the lives of the best of us, far short of that perfection we daily strive unto: Yet it shall well appeare to him that will rightly consider these few lines following, That the power of true godlinesse is much more wanting amongst them then 'tis with us, whom they have forsaken; for if we iudge of the schollers by their teachers, and of the miserable seduced multitude by their chief Leaders, and if men do not use to speak, much lesse to write but from the abundance of their hearts, then have they as final cause certaine to boast of their holines, & to say they are not as other men, nor as we are, whom they have forsaken, as the Pharisee in the Gospel said:

(b) This wee dare boldly say, that there was never any man of note in our Church, that in his writings hath bewrayed to irreligions and un sanctified a spirit, as their chiefe Leaders have done: For prooffe whereof wee desire the Christian Reader to consider first the shamefull lies which wittingly, and against the light of their owne hearts, they have published, and whereby they have in a manner borne false witness against us: In the ninth page of their Discovery they say *That all the Atheists, Papiſts, and Anabaptists, and Heretiques of all sorts, Whores, Thieves, Witches, Conjurors, and who not, that dwell in this Iſland, or within the Queenes dominions, are received and nourished within the bowels of this Church, with the Word and Sacraments; none are refused, none kept out.* In the 60. page of their Discovery they say, *These Priests and people receive the Leviticall Decretions in the same forme, to the same end.* In the 63. and 64. pages they affirme, *That the service book is the very ground worke of our Faith, Church, and Ministry, from*

b Luke 18 9.
11. 14.

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Whence we fetch all our directions for a'l things, That we are shew'd us, and by this booke. Th' 1st Word of G d may not be taught, but what this hath been read. In the 28. page, They say we all adore the words of Salutation which the Angel Gabriel us'd to the Virgin Mary, That we worship either the Purification, or the person of our Lady: So they maliciously say we serve the b'essed Virgin) And that we powre out unto her our drinke Offerings, and burne incense to the Queen of heaven; Whereas, through divers pages they charge us with keeping Fasts and Feasts to honour of Saints. In the 100. page they say, Their Priest Baptiseth the childe, In the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, and of the holy Crosse. In the 148. page, They say, it is utterly denyed in the Church of England, that the Magistrates should be Excommunicated. In the 183. page, They say, that it is impossible to finde two of our Ministers in one mind, and judgement, yea in any two Churches of the Land, to have the same doctrine taught. In the 188. page they say, That no one place of Scripture which maketh expresse mention of the government of Christ, As Rom. 12. 1 Cor. 12 and 15. and is suffered to be so much as read in our Churches. In the 175. page they say, These new Glasses take up in them to make Ministers,

A second note whereby we may try the spirits of their chief Leaders, is their spitefull railing, wherein they are so rich and plentifull, as wee know not how to finde amongst all the rabble of profane and ungodly men, any one that goeth beyond them in it, our Ministers they call Balamites, Cananites, Babylonish Divines, Egyptian Enchanters, Simmes of the Divell, as bitter enemies as Turkish Janizaries, marked soldiers of the Beast, such as know not the Doctrines of the beginning of Christ, such as were nussed even from the mothers breast in profane Heathenism, vain Philosophie, ungodly Arts, trained up in Idolatry, Superstition, and most filthy Abomination, Perjury, Blasphemy, &c.

These men by preciseness and outward show of Holiness, Hypocrisie, Vainglory and Covetousnesse, resemble, or rather exceed the Pharisees. And the 38. page of their Discovery, Such a Priest as this is a Blasing Star, a Paragon of a Countrey, one of the new found Martin Saints, and such People are Puritans, or Martinists, Presbiterians, &c.

And in the 193. page, they name the Ministers of Geneva and their Churches Classes, (I dare not say the secret Classes in England) doe make Ministers for us in England. And these Ministers when they are come over, are received and esteemed as Angels in hell, and shining bright stars in this smokie Egyptian furnaces. And in the 12. page of their Collection of Letters, speaking of two very worthy Preachers, they have these words. I suppose more corrupt Teachers than these cannot

is found in any age, they teaching nothing almost truly, much less

To this we may refer the unrevoked and malicious speech, against the most godly learned, that have lived in the Reformed Churches beyond the Sea; as in the 23. page of their Discovery, they call us the crooked Disciples of Master Calvin. And in the 18. page Master Calvin hath no doubt misapprehensibly perverted and wrested these and other places of Scripture, and drawn very faulty and corrupt doctrines thence, touching the state and order of a planted Church, and more dangerous and damnable conclusions from the same. And in the 33. page. *This and such like detestable stuffe hath Master Calvin in his ignorance, partly to confute the Anabaptists, partly to defend his own rash and disorderly proceedings of Geneva, whereby his thin Church became a just reproach to all men, yea, that which is worse and more to be laboured, to become a miserable precedent and pernicious example to all Europe.*

The last note which we will observe for the triall of their spirit, is their scurrilous and ruffianlike profaness, wherein they seeme to us to have expelled all that in a show of zeale and sinceritie, have written or deak in the holy things of God. In the 71. page of their Discoverie, speaking of Ordination, they have these words. *He solemnly sitteth in his chair, and layeth his Symoniackall hands upon him, delivereth the Bible into his hands, breatheth upon him, and giveth, or rather selleth him his an-
gel's Ghost, as he shall know by the price of his box.* In the 73. page having spoken against rodd stinted prayers, and being come to speak against the prayers which godly Preachers doe conceive, according to the present occasions of the Church. Thus they scoffe at them; *Other more smooth Hypocrites, yet as grosse Idolaters, use the Lords Prayer as a cloke or supply (supplyeth) to their long Prefix Prayers conceived before.* In the 86. page of their refutation. *He most sacrilegiously selleth them his pretended Sacraments for their second stool or offering.* In the 97. and 98. page of their Discoverie, speaking of our publique Fasts; thus they write. *Here the learned Priests and Preachers lay their heads together, choose out three or four from among them to preach: some of them must play Sinne, another the Judgements of God, the third Repentance, the fourth, the Gospel, the people are solemnly bidden from all quarters to this Stage Play: who at the first invention of it flocked in thick and threefold to behold this novelty: He that playeth Sinne amongst some other faults, will reprove such as do not diligently enough countenance the preaching Priests (I should say) frequent not their Sermons, for the want of the Discipline, all that mourne in the chaine, and sigh in secret so is, (though neither Priest*

PART. III

nor people know what it meaneth, yet) they must not say and then the fault is not in them, but in God Almighty, that they have it not. If you come now to the second Table, they are feroce men; they will make Confidence to tremble. If there bee ever an Usurder, or a Drunkard, or a Whoremaster, they will so back-bite him, that hee will not lose a Sermon a good while againe. These men must beare with them, if in the Pulpit, when they are ravished with the zeale of the Lord, they have now and then a gird at them, to catch at it for malice, especially now for fashion sake.

And in the 99. page when the P. P. have ended, then are the people dismissed (where I trow for that night, is no talk together by the way as they goe home, or at their supper, but how excellently such a man, and such a man did.) *The Priests themselves that make two prayers, with flowers at some good hosts, or some good Ladies Houses, where is night they recompence their fasting, and mourning with good cheer, and wine.* And in the 180. page. They had a prescript place, like a Tubbe, called their Pulpit, and the Preacher for the most part disputes to the Houre Glasse, which being run his Sermon or action must be at an end. And a little after, here would not be forgotten, the sweet Psalmicall harmonie of the Vultures, Crows, Glades, Owls, Geese, of the Leopards, Beares, Wolves, Dogges, Foxes, Swine, Goats: All these with one accord, Sympathy, and Harmony, sing some pleasant ballad, or else unto Davids Melodious Harpe some Psalm in time, to stir up the spirits of their worthe Priest, or Preacher, who being thus wrapt and ravished with this Harmonie, goes to his Geare in forme above said, where his mouth distills, and his lipps drop downe old Parables, &c. And in the 191. p. Master Parson takes to him his Pastorall staffe, or wooden dagger of superstition, wherewith hee keepees such a flourishing as the flie can have no rest, yea by your leave if any poore man in the parish offends him, he may peradventure goe without his Bread and Wine for that day: and in the 192. page, speaking of the Bishops, and dumbe Ministers: Indeed their Cake is Dough, if this geare, this sweeping new Reformation come in. In the 228. page, speaking of Churching of women they have these words, the having offered her accustomed offering, to him for his labour; God speed her well, she is a woman on foote againe. And in the 244. page of their refutation, they call our prescript prayers; *The Smoake of the hottenile stoves.*

But what need wee any further evidence or demonstration of their spirit; Sure we are that by this which is already set downe, it will well appeare to the wise and Christian Reader, that Gods Spirit never taught men

men to write as those men (who are knowne to have beene the chiefe **PART. III**
perswaders and seducers of these our deceived brethren) have done.

To conclude, if wee did grant that the Assemblies which these men
have gathered and joyned themselves unto, were not equall onely, but
much better reformed then ours, yet by joyning to them with disclay-
ming, and condemning utterlie all other reformed Churches in the
world, wee see not why they may not thereby be said to divide Christ;
As well as they of Corinth, should have done if they joyned unto, and
followed *Paul*; so as withall they forsaked, and despised *Apollas*, or *Ce-
phas*.

FINIS.

and in which the man (who is known to me) is
 mentioned in the account of the first of the
 To conclude, it would grant that the Age which
 have entered and joined it, but it is not equal to
 much better informed than ours, yet by joining to them with
 and examining materials of other nations, I think
 would we see not only the truth in the
 as well as the of Corinth, should be able to
 through Paul, to as withall they for which I have

FINIS.



The Spie,


Kings
London

Communicating Intelligence

from Oxford.



 From Tuesday the 30. of January, to the 5. of February.


ENTLEMEN, because our *Spie* was prettily entertained at his first returne, he sweares now never to leave hackneying it to *Oxford*, and vowes to turne an errant *Jackie* for your sakes, till his very posteriors become Parchment, and fret and peeke like the scalp of any *Courrier*. I protest, I think he is a pretty towardly *Thing* to fetch and carry Newes; And I dare say, a *Whelp* of as right a strain as *Brianicus*, though not so curst: He shall, upon a wager, tugge with that unmannerly, bawling *Courrier*, *Aulicus*; And I know, when the quarrel's at foul play, he is better conditioned, then to bite the Noble *Master*, though now and then he snap at the Kennel-keepers, and *Porter*. I have told you his disposition; finger your Purfes then, and let him know yours, that he may have somewhat against his next journey to beare his charges to the *Courr*. Be liberall, and upon my word, if there be any *overplus*, beyond his ordinary allowance, it shall be sealed up in a Purse, and sent for a token to *Aulicus*, and his tributary *Miss*, whose famished *Phantasies* are even as empty as the *Town* it self is of goodnesse, good *Sack*, or good *Tidings*; I believe it were a subtil piece of *charity*; for if they should pine or starve, as I perceive it, by their late poore allowance, very likely you will lose a great deal of laughing at

the dry *Ruffiano Mercarie*, when you see him in *print*, how he strives and pumps for *trayterous conceits*. You may see the *Rascall* is become very poor and contemptible; for his once *gracious Land-lord*, the *Printer*, begins to neglect him, and the last week would allow him but one sheet to lie in, because when he has two, he is sure to spoile one, and mak it good for nothing, unlesse the *Tobacconian Mundungas-suckers* take pity.

Our *Spie*, and *Aulicus*, have both the same mak in the *front*, both promising *Intelligence* from *Court*; and therefore I conceive it a task, which of necessity concerns our *Spie*, before he come to give you his true *Intelligence*, alwayes to remove those *Mountains* of lofty *lies* and *slanders*, which are weekly reared up by *Aulicus*, to eclipse the light of *Truth* from the *Kingdome*.

In *Aulicus* his last weeks peniworth of *slander*, you may read the very condition of *Oxford*; for by the beating of his pulse you will alwayes finde the true state and temper of the whole *malignant* body, which at the present is as weak as his stile. If you peruse the former *Monuments* of his *Atheistick* brains, whereby hee deluded the more credulous with his unjust, imperious *Pamphl 13*, you shall finde him to carry all before him with an inundation of *lies* and lofty *language*; you should have him formerly very stately, and even *stately* first in *print*, as haughtily as any *Sophister* newly warm in a square cap. I have head some sworn *Votaries* to their Cause, affirm him th only *Non-percil* of the *Times*, and swear deeply, that all the *Grecian* or *Latin* eloquence, was but meer paddle to his pure streams of *Wit*. But now we have the *Rat* in at one hole, and out at another, sneaking up and down with invention, to say somewhat; no matter what stuffe, so it be mingled with bombast, and seem big; but God knows, with what a heave heart and wrecking of conscience 'tis done.

I could wish that every one had his last weeks work to peruse, where you may have him fainting every period, and reade in every line, though there were no other information, that the *Scots* are come, or some other mischance as bad, befallne them. And now we speake of the *Scots*, after them comes *Reformation*; which is the first thing that *Aulicus* hath a sling at: For hee sayes, that having reformed all *Clergie-men* and *Churches* (to which expression he is pleased to annex a Parenthesis of *Slander*) we are at last come to *Reformation* of the *Liturgie*; where also he takes occasion to be very angry, That whereas the *Lords House* were accustomed to have *Morning Prayer* every day before they went to sit, out of certain set forms of *Prayer*, heretofore taken by the *Bishops* out of the *Common-Prayer Book* for that use, they

should

should now leave storm off, and make a choise of a New-assembly-man to pray with them. *Aulicus*, peace, you Rascal; upon your life not the least quibble against Reformation, for the Scots are come, and thou knowst they will help to reform your Clergie, your Churches, Liturgie and all. Tel the *Conrr-Chaplaines* and Prelaticall Cathedralists, their old *Northern* friends are come to keep a second *Visitacion* on this side *Berwick*; but be sure you carry a cup of strong water along with the news; and commend me to the *mitred varlets*; say, I advise them to preach lesse dangerous doctrines to the Kings care, and not tell him out of the Pulpit, that is Divinity which is but Devilish Policie, nor smoothly set abroad there what was first brewed in *Hell*: Bid the rest of the pragmaticall *Papish-Arminian* frie be honest, and keep to your old Religion, for humoring and fawning upon a rotten-hearted *Courtier*, is not the way to preferment now: Ask our *Renegado fugitive Clergie* of *London* with you, and in particular, that conceited *Rabbi* of *Royalists*, *Griffith*, once of *Fish-street*, he that used to make fine sport in the Pulpit with his *Theologicall squibs*, whether they like not *Mass* as well as the *Common-Prayer*; whether it be not as easie to put on a Cowl as a Cope, or Surplesse, and sleep never the worse; I am perswaded such trumpery would keep them warm in any Religion, with a good *Deanry*, and two or three fat *Benefices*. And what will you do for *Helps* to *Devotion*, *Aulicus*, when Churches must be reformed; when Altars and Organs, painted glasse, Stories of the *Nativity*, and *Resurrection*, Idolatrous genuflexion and Crucifixes, must vanish out of your *Chapels* at *Oxford*; as for the *Liturgie*, *Aulicus*, that inestimable darling of yours, (*ah welladay!*) that must be reformed too: Dost not remember how it was kicked out of *Scotland*, when the little *Diminutive Tyrant* of a foot and a half long, he I mean, that raised such a storm in the Sea of *Cambrury*, sent it thither with some additionall *soylings* in of his own, as a preparatory pledge of *Popery*: As for the Lords leaving the forms of prayer formerly used, it was an Act as fitting and reasonable, as the ensteeering the Bishops was most necessary and noble.

He bids men, that if they would know how our Divines do extempore, are to take notice, that after their supposed conquest at *Middlewich* in *Cheshire*, one Mr. *Wood* was in the Pulpit at *Newton*, in *Lancashire*, where he taught his Auditory, That very suddenly they should give the *Cavaliers* a great blow. Thus far of your Story, *Aulicus*, proves true; but the entail to it, smells too much of *Sophistry*. Now, thou that art old Dog at lying and slander, I would have

thee take notice too, and compare the words of Mr. Woods prophetic with this insuing Text : viz. *God Almighty hath avenged himself on you, for that forged blasphemie, Wherewith thou chargest the good man, and Written the fulfilling of his words in letters of gold, (your own malignant blood) upon the walls of Hampden.* I know your knees, like *Belshazzars*, do even knock one against another at the sight of this hand-writing. We can produce you a brace of your own Colonels; more then a decalogue of Captains, a whole Bead-row of Lieutenants and Ensignes, Gentlemen, Sergeants and Corporalls, besides plunder good store, Drums, Ordnances, Carriages, Waggons, Irish-male-monsters, and some seventeen hundred common souldiers to witnesse this truth.

He tells us of *Colonel Ven*, and calls him the *Barbarous keeper of Windsor Castle*, and saies, *It is one of those reasons why his Majesty's Souldiers, have severall times refused quarter, because they are sure a present death will be far easier than a cruell captivity.* No *Aulicus*, I can tell thee the true reason. It is well your Souldiers have the liberty of quarter to take, or refuse is: Ours would accept it, if they could have it. One reason why yours refuse is, because they neither feare God, nor Man: Some of them had rather go to hell presently than have a Hell in their Consciences here on earth, the flames whereof begin to kindle when their Valour is a little cooled in fetters. Others are told by their old friend *Beelzebub*, in heate of skirmish, that it is a shame to take quarter of *Round-heads* and 'twere better to dye out-right a Martyr for *Rome's* case, and take up quarter with him a while in Purgatorie till his friends are able to Fee the Pope, or remember him at their best leisure with a Score of Pater-Nosters, or Ave-Maries, for redemption. As for *Collonel Venn's* usage of his prisoners, it is far more generous, and Christian, than that Pagan principle of *starving Round-heads*, in which quality yours are generally expert; and in particular, the prime Jaylour Captaine *Smith*, Sr reverence, once a principall Pimp, and *Rakehell*, in *London Suburbs*, now more than *Turkish* Tormentor of unfortunate captives in *Oxford* where to be tyed neck and heeles together, so to starve, and no more, were to dye happily if cruelty were not exercised beyond this.

But *Aulicus* proceeds most Subtily, and takes paines with a contrived circumlocution; (which if it were not tedious I would relate after him) the substance whereof is this. He tells us, that on our side, there came out lately a pamphlet in Print, wherein he saies, It is pretended by us, that the *Cavaliers* have a designe upon some of our

our men, now their prisoners, in the Isle of Sylly to send them to be slaves to *Argiers*; that we might the better take occasion to pack some of theirs thither, which being kept here do put the State to too great a charge, in giving them necessary maintenance; And her he conjure us, (who never had the least intention that way) as we ever hope for pardon from God and his Majestie, that we forbear to have a thought of selling any Christian English-man to any forraine slavery. A pretty fetch, *Anlicus*, for a slander! And wheel'd about neatly with a circumstantiall circumference for your own advantage! If thou wert here, I would stroke, and cherish thy noddle for this rare conceit. Do not feare such a businesse *Anlicus*; yet truly it were but reason to make slaves of those abroad, which have taken such paines to enslave us and our Religion here at home.

Anlicus having taken occasion to mention the noble Lord *Say*, calls him *William* late Viscount *Say* and *Seale*. And why so *Anlicus*? neither he, nor his honour are deceased yet, but both very likely to out-live your malice; and his Title will still remaine good (notwithstanding the law-lesse out-lawrie, and illegall attainer of high-Treason) as long as we can say we have the Seale here, and can Seal to what we say. As for the Lord *Cottingtons* restoration to his old place of Master of his Majesties Court of Wards and Liveries, from which at the beginning of this Parliament he was for no small faults justly excluded; if he had no more In-come from Spaine; than benefit from that Office, 'tis likely he might in time be an *Englishman* againe. Howsoever we will give him leave to please himselfe with the shadow of a Tittle, so long as we have the substance.

He speaks as if the *French* Ambassadour were but courtesly entertained here to have his packet opened; and that the Ambassadors from the States must expect the like, unlesse they comply; and sayes that they onely at *Oxford* are fit to entertaine Ambassadors. I suppose *Anlicus*, the *French* Ambassadour was more fairely, and cordially entertained here, than at the Court, when *Jermis* stood in a corner of the *Presence*, with his companions, swearing, and whispering. And this I tell thee, I thinke you are more fit to juggle with, than to entertaine Ambassadors. *Sed lupus est in fabula*. Provoke me not too far, lest I tell tales.

The affaires from *Oxford* tell us, that their *Anti-Parliament* hath done them as little good as their *Anti-fast*. The Devill would never suffer them to thrive since it was thought convenient to mortifie their tongues to a little more moderation in swearing and blasphemy on the second Friday of the Moneth: But since the Convention of the

the grand counsell they have thriven far worse; It seemes they take not a thriving course to be compleat *Satanists*, for their grand Patron hath a fetch beyond their apprehension; he sees a Mock-Parliament is not the way to bring ends about, and therefore withholds his wonted influence upon their designs; Perhaps if there were any likelihood this way to bring in Popery once more, that He and Antichrist might domineere over mens consciences againe in *England*, he would forward them: but he knows this is an improbable fruit-lesse course, and therefore having made them ripe for Divine vengeance, suggests all meanes to make their ruine inevitable. Whereupon he raises dissensions amongst them. The more moderate Partee counsell his Majesty to sollicite his Parliament by way of Propositions for Peace; then In come the *Spanish* unto frowning, and whisper his Majesty in the eare, that those men are infected with *Round-headisme*; *The Parliament at Westminster is no Parliament; and will his Majesty undervalue his honour so far, as to thinke them worthy a Treatie?* Were not these words *Don Diego Cor.* spoken to the great dislike of many Auditors present? Who was *Fryer Duppa*, his Majesties prayer-maker, when this clause, so well suited to the former counsell, was put into a set forme of prayer, viz. *Forasmuch as his Majesties rebellious subiects (so they call the best) are become utterly implacable, and no place for a wished reconcilement, &c.* Who was it, I say, composed that prayer, and had the impudence to present it to the King? and when it found not entertainment in his chappell, did not *fermyne* out of his providence, save the pretious remnant for the *Queenes* use? This is true, for our *Spie*, *Benedictine*, heard a *Fryer* of the *Chappell* blasse the *Bishops* invention, and the runnagates care.

Our *Spie* saies, that on *Saturday* the 27 of *January* he was at Court, where he understood the Moderate Partee were againe very urgent for a *Treatie*; whereupon the Jesuited partee were put to their Trumpets, finding the king inclinable that way, and seeing there was no staving off the violence of this Motion, after consultation they concluded some plausible present course must be taken to satisfie these men, and stroye to make a benefit of necessity, by setting on wheelles againe the late broken *Popish* Plot, to divide the City from the Parliament, and the Parliament from the City; and the *Scots* from both: which to bring about againe, no way was thought more likely than to commend a new overture of peace to the Lord Generall, and to make a rent in his fidelity, if they could; and divide him in time from the Parliament, which they supposed by a mutuall intercourse with him, might be surely brought to passe, Upon this debate a

Trumpet

Trumpet was called and dispatched away with the Parchment Scrowle, you formerly have heard of, signed by the Prince, Duke of *Yorke*, the new Duke of *Cumberland*, and others; but his Excellencie, most prudently, sent them a Noble token back, in recompence.

This token our *Spie* saw delivered. It hath done them more mischief there than twenty *Granado's* could, being as Thunder-struck, at the first report of it. The sonnes of the Prophets there, over their halfe-peny portage, cryed there was death in the Pot. So ominous, and fatall, is the Scotch name joyned with the English in a Declaration! It is supposed if they be not converted before the first of *March*, our *Spie* will bring you continuall newes of selfe-pistolling, hanging, or drowning. *Duppa* sayes, It was a cursed peece of Tutoring the prints, to send him to *Wales* to raise more half-pagan forces; yet goe he must, for those are the last Cards they have to play; which if they prosper not, *Windebanke* sayes, he has no more hope to be of the Cabinet-counsell againe, and therefore will re-admit himselfe of the Iesuites society beyond sea. *Diego Corr.* wishes himselfe well packed up in a large Frayle of Raisens for any coast of Spain. Grand *Endymion* wishes himselfe in a Mouse-hole, any where within the limits of the *Irish* Cession. *Digby* and his Dad thinke it the safest way to Heaven in an *Italian* Cloyster, and *Iermyn* humbly beseeches the *Holy Rood*, he may safely arrive in *France*, and he will content himselfe to be *Rames* wretched Caterpillar in a Carthusian Convent, so it may have a subterranean privie passage under the walls of some Nunnery. Prince *Reper* sayes, he will leave his title of *Cumberland* behind him for the Maies of his off-spring, whose mothers he hath dubb'd against the bankes of a Bulwarke, with the title of a Princes *Amorella's*, and blowne their Maiden-heads over the workes in his enemies faces: There will be a second Civill War among the tribe, when they come to age, whose the honour shall be. *Heylyn* was writing the second part of his prophanation of the Sabbath, and just upon the coming of this Declaration, his Inke thickned. And the same disaster befell leane, Iaw-falne *Stewart*, as he was writing a letter consolatory to his fellow-chapaine *Belcanquall*, that he would but a little while leave his Wenches in *Durham*, and make a step to the Catholick Marquesse, and his heigh fellow well met in Popery, *Glenham*, to advise them to stand to it, tooth and naile, now against the Scots, or never.

These are those desperate ones, which are in such a fright upon his new Declaration, because their guilty soules tell them they are utterly incapable of pardon from a wronged State, and therefore dare

dare not returne into the naked bosome of their Native Country, but must turne wretchlesse vagabonds in forraine parts. But there are others of more candid soules, who our *Spie* knowes, doe but wait an opportunity to make use of Parliament mercy, within the limited time, and follow the example of Sir *Edward Deering*, who on Friday last came to town, and submitted himselfe to the Parliament, and by first laying hold on so gracious an offer, hath in some measure repaired his lost honour, if in an offence of so high nature, it be repairable.

On the ninth of this present *February*, The Malignant Conventicle of the pretended Parliamenters will meet, and sit together again; but their sence, and businesse must be limited: They must neither speak nor agitate any thing more, than what was first squared out according to the Designes of the *Spanish* Agents, the pips of *Spinola*, and such English wellwishers as he was. The occasion of their then meeting is this gallant defeat at *Nampwich*, which puts them in minde of a Speedie recrute. The *Fernes* of *Tarmoth*, he, I mean that hunted for Honour in Conie-holes, and Closete and is devout in no parcell of Masse but *Ave-Maria*, he is to make Experiment of his tongues, as well as of his taile-peece in the behalfe of Poperie, and deliver in a Speech to the Assembly what the Queenes Confessor first made him con. by heart in his Studie: Which is, to declare unto them, (who, if there be any sparks of nature, or common-honestie in them, cannot with patience hear him) that his Majesty, to supplie the losse of his Forces at *Nampwich*, is resolved to send over for all the Irish Papists that can be spared out of that Kingdome from maintaining the Catholicke Cause there, and conveniently furnished, and conveyed thence. Will not this be rare language before such a Tribunnall and Assemblie, as pretends to be truly Protestant? The Ladies of Honour have promised to gratifie him with new Linnen, and curlie his locks against the day, in spight of the new Declaration.

Thus all at their wits end our *Spie* left them; hee would have stayed longer to have seen all, but that he knowes you expect him at the appointed time. The next return, perchance he may tell you more.



Printed according to Order, for I.F.

A

RELATION

Of some of the many Remarkable Passages in

CHESHIRE

Before the Siege of NAMPTVVICH, during the
Continuance of it: And at the happy raising of it by the
victorious Gentlemen Sir *Tho. Fairfax* and
Sir *William Brereton*.

TOGETHER

With the Deliverance and Victory by the Garrison
at NOTTINGHAM: certified in a Letter to a
worthy Member of the House
of COMMONS.

Published by Authority and entred according to order.

Pfal. 31. 23, 24.

O love the Lord all ye his Saints, for the Lord preserveth the faithfull, and plentifully rewardeth the proud doer.

Be of good courage and he shall strengthen your hearts, all ye that hope in the Lord.

LONDON:

Printed for Robert Bostock dwelling at the Signe of the Kings
head in Pauls Church-yard. 1644. 1643

Alfred

RELLA TON

CHESHIRE



TO THE VVELL-AFFECTED
READER.

If not to tell thee news so much that
these papers come abroad, but rather to
let thee know thy stronger ties and en-
gagements to the God of our salvation.

Pitie it is so glorious mercies should be spilt and
lost upon an ungratefull people. The works of God
speak his goodnes and power, more expressively
then words can, and amongst others this the nar-
ration points to; here thou mayest find more satis-
faction in those undoubted truths, that the battell
is not to the strong, and that God is the Lord of
Hoasts; which may prepare thee for dependance on
Him in future evils; for them who are related to
that County, they cannot sure so far forget them-
selves as to forget Gods doings for them. Had
they heard of the slavery or death of those worthy
gentlemen who have run so many hazards for God

and their Countrey, or of the base scorne and contempt (at the least) which would have fallen upon the Ministers of Christ there had they been taken: or lastly, of the giving that poore town up to plunder and massacre, let themselves guesse how cold it would have gon to their hearts; and now the snare is broken and they are delivered, how should they blesse him who did appoint salvation for walls & bulwarks. The Lord teach us so to use Mercy when wee have it, that we may not turne the grace of God into wantonness. these few words may prepare thee for, and let thee in to the following relation.

Farewel.

We have appointed *Robert Boslock* to have the sole Printing of these Relations.

3. Febr. 1643

THO. MYDDELTON.
GILBERT MILLINGTON.
WILL. ASHVRST.



A Relation of some of the many remarkable
 Passages before the siege of *Nantwich*, during the
 continuance of it, and at the happy raising of it by the
 victorious Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*,
 and Sir *William Brereton*, and the Lancashire
 Gentlemen, and Forces with them.



As the power and providence of God hath been
 of late more discernably employed in other
 parts of the Kingdome, on the behalfe of his
 people, so especially in Cheshire. Not to run
 backe to wonders of an elder date (of which
 that County hath had not a few) this last was
 such as might well be reckoned amongst *mag-*
nalia Dei. It may be that works may convert them that words will
 not, and this Relation may startle those who fight hood-winkt, and
 Balaam-like discern not God against them.

The English Army that had left Ireland to the mercy of those
 odious Rebels, came over about the midst of November, and mak-
 ing their first attempt upon Hawarden Castle, received a timely
 advertisement from the Parliaments forces there, which was sent
 upon their summons of the Castle in these words.

A

To

To the Gentlemen lately come from the service in Ireland.

Gent.

VV

EE are sorry you have made such an unhappy exchange of Enemies, to leave Irish to fall upon English, and Papists to fall upon Protestants : We had hoped the blood of that noble Gentleman Sir *Simon Harcourt*, and the many thousands of Protestants, who have fallen by the fury of those bloody monsters of Ireland, could not have been so soone forgotten. What course the Court of England runs, how destructive to the Protestants, and favourable to the Papists, you cannot but know with us by sad experience ; And therefore we desire before you passe further, your thoughts may make a pause, lest you finde that God of the Protestants against you, whom you have hitherto found miraculously for you. We feare the losse of our Religion more then the losse of our dearest blood: Doe not, we beseech you, desire us to betray it and our selves : Wee hope your second thoughts may take off the edge of your former resolutions, however we are resolved to make good our trust, and put our lives into the hands of that God, who can, and we hope will secure them more then our wals, or weapons.

Their unwelcome entertainment of this message discovered their pre-ingagements to be our deadly enemies,

mies, and they soone showed us how little of civility was to be expected from them. When they had taken that Castle and broken all Articles agreed on upon the surrender, when the Parliaments forces were necessitated to it, by want of provision, after a fortnights siege; They were somewhat encouraged to further attempts, especially new Regiments comming in to their augmentation. After some stay at Chester (where they manifested their unruly and spoiling dispositions) they came out to Beelston Castle, which through the treachery of one of the Guards, and the cowardize of the Governour (who is since executed for it) was suddenly surrendered to them. Thence they make forward to the further misery and sorrow of the wofully oppressed Countrey, and spoyle all that part of the Countrey adjoyning to Shropshire. When they had got what was to be had there, they sought fresh quarters upon that part of Cheshire, which borders on Staffordshire, where they were at their old trade of plundring very busily.

Sir *William Brereton* with some Lancashire forces came in to our ayde, drew up to Sandbach; but upon the enemies appearance (apprehending themselves too weake to encounter so great a power) they left that place to their enemies, and fell down to Middlewich, three miles lower. The enemy encouraged thus far, fell upon them at Middlewich, and tooke above a 100 of our men, slew some, and disheartened all the rest: The noise of this caused Northwich to be quit, and then they

sent a new summons to Crew house; for they had summoned it once before, but summons would not take it; and therefore they fall on to assault it with a great deale of resolution, but are beaten off with very great losse. Our men, what through want of Ammunition, and despaire of reliefe, surrendred the house upon quarter for their lives, which they gave them with sorrow enough. They had before this taken the neighbouring Church of Bartemley, where some honest men took Sanctuary, and there perfidiously promised quarter, but gave none. It hath stricke some with no small wonder, that men of formerly generous spirits (as some of them are) should thus degenerate into such odious inhumanities. After this they summoned Dedington house, which was surrendred without a shot, so far had the terrour of these prevailing men posselt the spirits of the Defendants. Thence they goe on to Acton Church (their own trap afterwards) and after some shot of their Ordnance against it, become the masters of it. Thus like an inundation, which knowes no bounds or stops they had borne downe all the County almost, and were got to the wals of that place, which was the onely heart and life of the Countrey, the Garrison of Namptwich.

Now in the night they make severall mounts and works round the Towne, and planted their Ordnance on all sides; but before Sir *John Byron*, who was Commander in chiefe, would engage himselfe against the Towne, he sent this summons.

*To the Commanders, Souldiers, and Inhabitants of the Towne of
Namptwich.*

THat it may appeare to all the world, that neither I nor the Armie under my conduct, desire the bloud or ruine of any (as we have been most falsly and maliciously scandalized in that behalfe) but that our chiefe aimes and endeavours are to reduce the people to their due obedience to his Majestie, and settle the Countrey in peace without shedding of bloud, I have thought good, before I engage my selfe upon the towne, to let you know :

1 That I do in his Majesties name charge and command you, to deliver us the said towne of *Namptwich*, with all the Armes, Artillerie, Ammunition, and other things therein into my hands, for his Majesties use ; and that all Commanders, Souldiers and others, immediately lay down their Armes, and submit to his Majesties grace and mercie.

2 I promise pardon to such as shall readily lay downe their Armes and submit, and shall give safe conduct to such as shall desire to goe to their houses in the Countrey, and will protect both them and the Inhabitants of the Towne in their persons and estates, except such as his Majestie hath excepted.

3 If you refuse these conditions, I shall by Gods help use other meanes for the recoverie of his Majesties right, and vindicating of his and the Countries wrongs ; whereby if you, and those many good people, who are forced to bee among you shall perish, both your owne bloud and theirs shall rest on your owne heads.

I am content to allow two houres for returne of an answer, and admit a cessation of Armes on both sides, till that time be expired.

If you will send two men of qualitie, the one a Souldier, the other a Townes-man, to treat (with me, or such as I shall appoint) upon the time and manner of the render of the Towne, I will give safe conduct and caution for their safe returne.

John Byron,

There was answer returned to this at the gate by word of mouth, that the Towne was kept by us for the use of the King and Parliament, and by their speciall directions; and that we were resolved to keep it against him and his Forces, so long as it pleased God to enable us. This was said openly to satisfie the Souldiers, at which they gave up a great shout, and great joy was thorowout all the Guards, and all the Towne. The Souldiers were afterwards undaunted and unwearied, notwithstanding they had such violent and diligent enemies. They shot cold and fierie bullets into the Towne night and day, but killed none but one man and one woman, and burned nothing but one stack of kids at the back of Mr. *Wilbrahams* house. Many strange deliverances were had through Gods mercie, which deserve a Chronicle, and will find it in the hearts of men, if not in other books. The 17 of Januarie they shot an hundred shot with their Ordnance from one mount against the Towne and works: about a week before their furious, and (to themselves) fatall assault, they sent a second Summons in these words.

*To the Inhabitants and Commanders of the
Towne of Nampwich.*

WHereas I am certainly enformed, as well by divers of the Souldiers, who are now my prisoners, as by severall other creditable persons, that you are not only in a desperate condition, but that the late Summons I sent to the Towne hath been suppressed and concealed from the Inhabitants thereof, and they most grossely abused, by being told that no mercie was intended to be shewed by this Armie to the Towne, but that both man, woman and child should be put to the sword: I have therefore thought fit once more to send unto you, that the minds of the people with you, may be dispossessed of that false and wicked slander, which hath been cast upon this Armie: And I doe charge you (as you will answer Almighty God for the lives of those persons who shall perish by your perfidious dealings with them) that you impart and publish the said Summons I sent to the people with you, and that you yeeld up the Town of *Nampwich* into my hands, for his Majesties use, and submit yourselves to his Majesties mercie, which I am willing to offer unto you. Though I am confident, that neither, of your selves, or by any aid that can come unto you, there is any possibilitie for you to escape the hands of this Armie. If you please to send two Gentlemen of qualitie to me, the one a Commander, the other a Townes-man, whereby you may receive better satisfaction, I shall give safe conduct and hostage for their returne: I doe expect a present answer from you.

Jan. 16. 1643.

John Byron.

The

The Answer.

WE have received your last Summons, and do returne this answer ; that wee never reported, or caused to be reported, that your Lordship, or the Armie, intended any such crueltie, wee thinking it impossible for Gentlemen and Souldiers so much to forget humanitie : and if any have informed you otherwise, it is their owne conceit, and not realitie. Concerning the publishing of your former Summons, it was publicly read amongst the Souldiers and Townes-men, as your Trumpetter can witnesse : and since that time multitudes of coppies of it have been disperled among the Townes-men and others, and from none hath it been concealed and detained. For the deliverie of this town, wee may not with our consciences, credits, or reputations, betray that trust reposed in us, for the maintaining and defending this towne, as long as any enemy shall appear to offend it. Though we be termed Traytours and Hypocrites, yet we hope and are confident, God will evidence and make knowne to the world in his due time (though for the present we should suffer) our zeale for his glorie, our unfained and unspotted loyaltie towards his Majestie, and sinceritie in all our professions.

George Booth.

This Gentleman perhaps had not seen Sir *Johns* Letter to the Earle of *New Castle*, wherein hee perswades him to follow Butcherie in stead of Souldierie, otherwise hee would have abated somewhat of his over-large charitie.

There

There were some other papers sent into the towne from Captain *Sandford*, a man very lavish of ink and big words (as wee know by experience, having been troubled with many of the like papers of his in Hawarden Castle before this time) and who afterwards ended his life at the towne side, upon his assault of one of the works.

*To the Officers, Souldiers, and Gentlemen
in Namptwich, these.*

YOUR Drum can inform you, Aston Church is no more a prison, but now free for honest men to doe their devotions therein; wherefore be perswaded from your incredulity, and resolve, God will not forsake his Anointed. Let not your zeal in a bad cause dazzle your eyes any longer, but wipe away your vaine conceits that have too too long led you into blind errors. Loath I am to undertake the trouble of perswading you into obedience, because your erroneous opinions doe most violently oppose reason among you. But however, if you love your Towne, accept of quarrer; and if you regard your lives, worke your safeties by yeelding your Towne to the Lord *Byron* for his Majesties use. You now see my Battery is fixt, from whence fire shall eternally visit you day and night, to the terrour of your old, and females, and consumption of your thatcht houses. Beleeve mee, Gentlemen, when I have laid by my former delayes, and am now resolved to batter, burn, and storme you. Doe not wonder that I write unto you, having Officers in chief above mee; 'tis only to advise you, because I have some friends among you, for whose

B safety

safety I wish you to accept of my Lord *Byrons* conditions; hee is gracious, and will charitably consider of you: Accept of these as a summons, that you forthwith surrender the Towne, and by that testimonie of your fealty to his Majestie you may obaine favour. My Fire locks, you know, have done strange feats both by day and night, and hourelly wee will not faile in our private visits of you. You have not as yet received mine alarmes; wherefore expect suddenly to heare from my batterie and approaches before your Welch Roe.

THOMAS SANDFORD
Captain of Fire-locks.

This 15. of Jan. 1643.

This big-spoken man not satisfying himselfe with this, adds the following Letter.

Gentlemen,

L Et these resolve your jealousies concerning our religion: I vow by the faith of a Christian, I know not one Papist in our Armie; and as I am a Gentleman, wee are no Irish, but true born English, and reall Protestants also born and bred: Pray mistake us not, but receive us in your faire esteem. I know wee intend loyalty to his Majestie, and will be no other but faithfull in his service. This, Gentlemen, beleve from yours,

Thomas Sandford.

January 15.

This

This Gentleman, the day before his death, said to one of our Drums these words, Sirrah, behold the messenger of death, *Sandford* and his Fire-locks, who neither use to give, nor take quarter. This following Order was found in his pocket.

Major Hamond with that Regiment under his command and the Fire-locks, with the scaling ladders.

THE Fire-locks, and all the Dragoons armed with fire locks or snaphances to fall on first so neer unto the fall of the river as may be, on the left hand of the bulwark, to be seconded by 100. musketeers, then a body of pikes, then a reserve of musketeers. Let the souldiers carry as many faggots as they can.

Jan. 17. 1643.

Richard Gibson.

The field-word, *God and a good cause.*

Our souldiers abhorred parleys, and would not endure the sight of any more summons: the enemy discerning such resolution, had a project to gain the town by a sudden and violent assault upon five severall places of the towne at once; and this was done an houre before day, upon notice given to one another by a shot of one of their Ordnance, the eighteenth of January, which was a costly assault; for they left dead at the wall lane end Lieutenant Colonell *Bolton*, one Captain, many Officers, & the prime of their souldiers of the red regiment: many they cast there into the river, and carried many off

dead and wounded. At Wichsteds sconce was slaine Captain *Sandford* (the threatening man that talkt of eternall fire) and his Lieutenant, and some few souldiers besides left, and many carried off slain and wounded. At Pillory-street end, left dead behind, one Captain, two Lieutenants, two Ensignes, seventeen souldiers of the green regiment, and carried off 60. slain and wounded thence. At the back of M. *Manwarings* were left slain two Lieutenants, and thirteen souldiers, and many dead and wounded carried off. At the sconce neer the Lady Nortons was left slain one Captaine, and 15. souldiers, besides what was carried off. There are with us of them deadly wounded Officers & souldiers 18. One of their own party reports they lost in the assault 300 men: but we now understand they lost and had wounded 500. men. Thus it pleased Almighty God to defeat them, and to lend that town his powerfull assistance for their securitie, when their dangers were so neer.

For all this, the enemies make good their siege, and will not be taken off from their designes: At last that long-lookt for help came by that noble and religious Gentleman, Sir THOMAS FAIREFAX, and Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, and the rest of those valiant Gentlemen and souldiers, who having wrestled with God before by severall daies of humiliation, and being followed with thousands of prayers more then their own, obtained one of the greatest victories (all things considered) which we have had in this kingdom. And because no words can expresse it with more modestie and truth then his own, we shall only use Sir *Thomas* his Letter to his Excellencie the Earl of Essex.

Sir



Sir *Thomas Fairefax* his Letter, to
his Excellency the Earle
of *Essex*.

May it please your Excellencie,

I Desire your pardon, that I have
not given your Excellencie an
account before this, of the great
mercic God hath shewed us, in
giving us a happy Victory over the Irish Army,
to a totall ruine of their foot, and purchase
of their chiefe Commanders. Vpon the 21th
of *January*, I march't from *Manchester* towards
Namptwich, to relieve that Town with 2500
foot, and twenty eight Troops of Horse;
the Enemies Forces were above 3000 foot,
and 1800 horse; the first encounter we had
were with a Party of theirs upon the Forrest
of *Delamore*, where about thirty were taken
Prisoners; about six miles further they main-
tained

tained a Passage against us with about 200 men; I caused some Foot and Dragoones to bee drawn out to force it, which by Gods assistance they did in halfe an houres space, and there took a Major and some prisoners; having advanced some two miles further, we found a good Body of them planted about *Acton Church* a mile from *Namptwich*; we drew up within Cannon shot which sometimes played upon us, but without hurt God be thanked; wee there understood that the Lord *Byron* who had besieged the Town on both sides of the River, was prevented by overflowing of the water from jjoyning with that part at *Acton Church*, but heard that he was taking a compasse to get over the River to joyne with it, we resolved to fall upon that party at the Church before he should get up to it, but staying to bring up our Rere and Carriages, we gave him time to obtaine that hee sought for; then wee resolved to make way with Pioneers through the Hedges, and then to march to the Town to relieve it, and to adde some more Force to our selves to enable better to fight with them; but being a little advanced on our march, they told

told mee the Enemy was close upon the
 Reere, so facing about two Regiments being
 Colonell *Hollands*, and Colonell *Boothes*, I
 march't not farre before wee came to bee
 engaged with the greateſt Party of their
 Army, then the other part preſently after
 assaulted our Front, there Sir *William Brereton*
 and Colonell *Apton* did very good ſervice,
 and ſo did Colonell *Lambert* and Major *Copley*
 with the Horſe, they were once in great dan-
 ger, but that they being next to the Town were
 aſſiſted by Forces which came to their ſuc-
 cour in due time; wee in the other Wing
 were in as great diſtreſſe, but that the horſe
 commanded by Sir *William Fairefax* did ex-
 poſe themſelves to great dangers to encour-
 age the foot, though capable of little ſer-
 vice in thoſe narrow Lanes; yet it pleaſed
 God after two houres fight they were forced
 by both Wings to retreat to the Church,
 where they were caught as in a Trap. A Liſt
 of what we took I have here ſent your Excel-
 lency.

Thus the Lord of Hoſts hath done great
 things for us, to whoſe Name alone be aſcribed
 all glory, that nothing in the worthleſſe crea-
 ture

ture may any wayes darken that which eminently appears herein of the Creator, hoping that he will still goe on with us to prosper us in this way, and make me though unworthy, more capable to serve him in it; And so to observe your Excellencies commands, as it may appeare how much I am

Namptwich 29.
January 1643.

Your Excellencies

most humble servants,

S

Tho. Fairefax.

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A



A List of the Prisoners taken at *Acton*  
Church, *Jan. 25. 1643.* neer *Namptwitch.*

| <b>M</b> ajor Generall        | Captains.           |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Gibson, Colo-</i>          | <i>Atkins.</i>      |
| <i>nell.</i>                  | <i>Sydenham.</i>    |
| <i>Sir Michael Enrley.</i>    | <i>Finch.</i>       |
| <i>Sir Richard Fleetwood.</i> | <i>Disney.</i>      |
| <i>Colonell Monk.</i>         | <i>Fisher.</i>      |
| <i>Colonell Warren.</i>       | <i>Cooke.</i>       |
| <i>Lievtenant Colonels.</i>   | <i>Ward.</i>        |
| <i>Sir Francis Buttler.</i>   | <i>Dean.</i>        |
| <i>Lievtenant Colonell</i>    | <i>Lucas.</i>       |
| <i>Gibbs.</i>                 | <i>Litcole.</i>     |
| <i>Major Hamond.</i>          | <i>Betts.</i>       |
| <i>Slain, Lievtenant Co-</i>  | <i>Spotswood.</i>   |
| <i>lonell Vane.</i>           | <i>Bambridge.</i>   |
| <i>Lievtenant Colonell</i>    | <i>Willier.</i>     |
| <i>Boulton, The one in</i>    | <i>Lievtenants.</i> |
| <i>the fight, the other</i>   | <i>Long.</i>        |
| <i>in the assault be-</i>     | <i>Norton.</i>      |
| <i>fore the Town.</i>         | <i>Roe.</i>         |
| <i>C</i>                      | <i>Pawlet.</i>      |

Pawlet.  
 Goodwin.  
 Liverfon.  
 Duddleston.  
 Pate.  
 Morgell.  
 Leftrange.  
 Shipworth.  
 Ankers.  
 Billingsley.  
 Caftilion.  
 Milner.  
 Bradshaw.  
 Walden.  
 Lyons.  
 Poulden.  
 Smith.

# Ensignes.

Brown.  
 Brereton.  
 Bach.  
 Fines.  
 Wright.  
 Davis.  
 Touthwood.

Addiffe.  
 Smith.  
 Mahoone.  
 Rife.  
 Dendsworth.  
 Musgrave.  
 Pemicoch.  
 Dunsterfield.  
 Elliar.  
 Eiclash.  
 Philips.  
 Heard.  
 Thomas.  
 Morgan.  
 Lewis.  
 Godselue.  
 Busby.  
 Terringham.  
 Wither.

# Cornets.

Lee.  
 Carpenter.

# Quarter-Masters.

Lee.  
 Petty.

|                                                    |                                          |      |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------|
| Sir Ralph Done also<br>taken.                      | Colours                                  | 22   |
| Mast. Shurlock, Chap-<br>laine to a Regi-<br>ment. | Women, many wher-<br>of had long Knives, | 120  |
| Gentlemen of Com-<br>panies, twenty.               | Common Souldiers,                        | 1500 |
| Serjeants forty one.                               | Ordnances Six, five of<br>Brasse.        |      |
| Drums forty.                                       | Carriages,                               | 20   |
| Corporals fixty three.                             | Divers of the Wagons                     |      |
| Four Canoneers.                                    | Rich Plunder.                            |      |

THat this Mercy may not passe, as too many do; but for a nine dayes wonder, these things would be seriously thought of, whereby it may be seen, they had all advantages but God.

1. *The man upon whom the eyes of the Garrison were most fastned for his known sufficiencies, and from whom they had the largest expectation of direction and encouragement, was taken prisoner a little before the siege, that they might look for salvation higher.*

2. *Our enemies were men of great experience, who had run through all sorts of services, and were not now to learn the Policies of Warre.*

3. *They were men acquainted with the greatest hardship, habituated to cold and want, and what ever sufferings a winter siege could require.*

4. *They were put in heart by their former Successes, and*



that would make them the more daring and desperate, and they were valiant before, being used to nothing but Conquests.

5. They were in view of a large Plunder, and nothing but an Earthen Work betwixt it and them.

6. They were a greater Army then that which came to the relief of the Town for number, and therefore we need the lesse to wonder at Sir John Byrons Presumption.

7. They had a Female Regiment (as they seldome march without) and these were Weaponed too; and when these degenerate into cruelty, there are none more bloody. How many thousands of the Irish have these men formerly encountered, and never met with such a defeat.

And lastly, That this victory and siege should cost them so little expence of blood, being but four lives lost in the Town, and about twenty in fight, is little lesse then a miracle.

All these wayes they had farre the better of it, but that it might be seen that the Battell is not to the strong God casts the Scales the other way.

It may be, aftertime may tell more wonders, but here is enough to work upon a thankfull heart; which is the rather sent abroad, that those who have mourned and prayed over this Town in its greatest extremities, may now see what cause they have to blesse the Lord, while they have any being. God hath given anew, to some their Countrey, Friends, and more then can be told on a sudden.

The Kingdom is rid in a great part of one of the most formidable Armies in it, partly through the power of it, but more through the rage of it, of which we hear some stories sad enough, and fear more. God is now making bare his Arm for us, and if our sins do not stay his hand, we shall have mercy far above what we can

can ask or think. Gratitude for what is done, is the way to get more to be done; and if we render according to our receivings, this goodnesse of God will be but a pledge of future and greater mercy. We are still in a wanting condition, and must have many a wonder wrought, ere Peace and Truth will be had. But what cannot God do? And what will he not do for a gratefull people? The Lord make us such, that it may go well with us, and the generations after us.

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To our much honoured Friend, *Gilbert Millington*, Esquire, one of the Members of the House of COMMONS.

SIR,

IN Expression of our thankfulnesse to God for his great deliverance to this Garrison, we desire to communicate to your self, and to our friends, in what manner the Lord of Hosts was pleased to manifest himself in our preservation (even miraculously) from the bloody Hands of a cruell and mercilesse Enemy, intreating you to joyn with us in returning Prayers to his Sacred Name.

Sir, We drew forth the last week to meet *Derby* Forces upon a Designe, which failing, we marched to *Mansfield*, and in our retreat, we sequestred some of the Goods of the Lord *Byrons*, at *Newsted*; whereof Colonell *Freschville*, and Colonell *Humblock* having notice, they being then plundering about *Felley*, with three Troops fell upon us in our retreat, but our Horse and Dragons

Dragoons facing about, engaged them, and we took one *Fammot* a *Walloon*, Captain Lievtenant, or Major to Colonell *Freschville*, with three more; killed one Lievtenant, and a Cornet, with some others; wounded both the Colonells, with many more, and but two men of ours wounded, whereof one dyed since. In revenge whereof, on Tuesday morning last, the Enemy gave us an Alarum, and about seven of the clock approached neer the Town, and being betwixt two and three thousand Horse and Foot, beat in our men, and the Fortifications of the Town being imperfect, entred it, and forc't our Horse and Foot into the Castle; we then immediately put Muskets into the hands of our Troopers, and by them, and some foot, possessed our selves of some Houses, which played into the Market place, and some other parts of the Town; then we sallied out with most of our Foot, considering, if we did not make a desperate adventure, we were in very great hazard; so we fell upon the Enemy in severall Houses, killed divers of them in the streets, in which Gods power did wonderfully appear, for in one House three or four of our men took sixteen, and in another, two took six, and the like was done in divers places, whereby it pleased God to strike the Enemy with such a terrour, that they presently fled, and we pursuing them out of the Works, took about eighty Prisoners, about two hundred Arms, killed above twenty in the Town, besides many who dyed in the retreat, as we hear above fifty, and very many ran from their Colours, and some came to us with their Arms, in all (according to our Intelligence) the Enemy lost neer three hundred men and Arms; in which service we lost but one Boy, two were slightly wounded, and not one taken Prisoner.

Sir

Sir Charles Lucas who reports himself Generall of this County, and *Lincolnshire*, did draw what force he could from *Pontefract*, *Winfield-Mannor*, *Boulsover*, *Welbeck*, *Ashby*, *Belvoys*, *Newmarke*, *Wiverton*, and *Shelford*. Thus they conspired our destruction, their Plot being to surpris our Horse in our Quarters, and if that failed, to enter the Town, and to summon the Castle, and if that was not yeilded, to plunder the Town, and fire it; which accordingly they attempted, for they put burning Coals, lighted Match, and shot their Muskets and Pistols into the Hay, in Captain *Whites* Quarters, and divers other places, but through Gods mercy the fire did not take any where.

This is a true Relation of the Passages, although sundry reports are given out by the Enemy which we know to be various and false, as that the Town did give them three or four thousand pound to quit it, and that they lost but three men, and that they were commanded away by severall Packets, and others of the like nature; yet some of their Commanders who were ingenuous, did at *Southwell*, upon their retreat, confesse, That they had been upon most Designes with Prince *Rupert*; yet did never see hotter service, nor more execution done with Ordnance. We having this experience of Gods dealing with us, hope it will encourage us, and all others, engaged in this Cause, to continue faithfull to him, which is, and ever shall be, the Prayers of us,

Sir your faithfull Servants

John Hutchinson. Joseph Widmerpole.

George Hutchinson. Charles White.

Thomas Salustury.

Nottingham

Nottingham Castle, the 20 of *January*, 1643. We are credibly informed since the writing hereof, that Colonell *Eyre* of *Hassop* was slain, one Captain *Cartwright* is not yet heard of, and Lievttenant Colonell *Cartwright*, and some other Commanders wounded.

The Defeat given by Colonell *Massy* to the Enemy at *Skepstow*, *Januar.* 24. 1643.

TAken Prisoners, Colonell Sir *Henry Talbot*, three Captains, three Lievttenants, three Irish Reformadoes, Sergeant Major *Moor*, Captain *Rock*, Captain *Barrey*, Captain *Seabrook*, Sixty common Souldiers. Also there was taken a great Barge, with great store of Sack and other Wines; great store of Victuall, and Ammunition, by a Friggot which was man'd by the Souldiers of Colonell *Massy*.



FINIS.

*It did not write of
2 or 3 weeks before*
Mercurius Britannicus:

H. P. P. P.

Communicating the affaires of great

BRITAIN:

For the better Information of the People.

From Monday the 29. of January to Monday the 5. of February. 1644.

IT is a pretty experiment to be silent awhile; one cries *Britannicus* is stop in the printing, and so prest to death; another sayes hee was burnt on the backside of the *Lord Mayors* house, expiring like a Martyr in the dayes of our *second Queen Mary*; another sayes, *Britannicus* hath got a preferment, which thickens his Inke, that he cannot write; another sayes, he can get nothing for writing, and so gives over, as if he were dying under the discontent of being not rewarded: These are the opinions and reports which float in the City, the Malignant wishes he had never begun, the well-affected wishes he had never ended; but the truth is this. I tooke up my pen for disabusing his Majesty, and for disbithopping, and disposing his good subjects, and for taking off the vizards, and vailes, and disguises which the Scribes and Pharisees at Oxford had put upon a treasonable and popish Cause, and I laid it down as freely; but I see the generation is restless, alwaies plotting, and printing, I see *Aulicus* will be ayding, and comming abroad still, and he dares not venture alone, but hath got the company of one *Aquaticus*, a water pamphlet, and *Taylor* the water-man, as I am informed, had the chiefe Oare in this *Paper Wherry*, and if you observed, it is writ by some Chamlet brains, for it is watered almost in every line, and he is glad to goe upon the score with *Britannicus*, and there is little more his owne, then meeke *Aquaticus*. Is it not strange that such a famous Univerfity should live to be beholding to *Taylor* for a conceit?

The discontent of *Britannicus* silence.

Aquaticus his paper-wherry.

X

Have

Taylor.

Oxford
Excise.

Malignant
Almanack.

Lying
prognos-
ticks.

Anlicus
declined.

Have not the *Prelates & Courtiers* brought it to a fine passe think you? to exhaust an Academy of all its wit and excellencies, wasting them in *Declarations*, and *Equivocations*, and *Reservations*, and *Protestations*, and *Proclamations*, and *Excerations*, till they are glad now to lay an *Excise* upon Oares, and Wherries, and Scullers, and Schollers, for rowing up the *Prerogative*, and *Episcopacy*, and *Popery*, and landing them on their old shoares againe; nay, as if *Aquaticus* were not enough, out comes an *Almanacke*, a malignant *Prognostication*, a plot upon the very yeare of our Lord, a designe upon *Anno Domini*, a stratagem upon the twelve months, who tels as many lies as there are Stars in the *Con-figuration* of *Charles waine*; and this fellow doth not only tell lies, but he foretells lies, he writes lies which should be in *Julie*, in *January*, hee tels lies in *March*, which are more kindly for *Julies*, he prognosticates untruthes in the latter end of *February*, which were more seasonable for the one and twentieth of *May*; surely this fellow, if I should calculate his nativity, I should finde him borne under the very *taile of the Dragon*, under the excrement of some such Star, in the hinder end of some bad Constellation, but I leave him to *Master Barker*, who is able to jear him through every Orbe and Epicycle, and shall not suffer him to lye at any of the twelve signes in the *Zodiacke*.

Anlicus is now, as I prophesied long agoe, decayed into the sad singularity of one sheete, into the poverty of foure leafe pages, you may see what time of yeare it is with his Invention, and how the world goes with him when his *lenses* fall off; and you may calculate their successe, and take measure of their condition at *Oxford* by him, as well as if you were in the *Dutchesse of Buckingham's Chaise*; There is a report I know not how true it is, that divers Countries about them have petitioned against *Anlicus*, against the plurality of two sheetes, for they say he cost the good subjects as much as an ordinary sselement, and they were bound to buy them, for it seemes that should have been one Article in the next visitation of *Hophmey Dupper*.

The next Article before it would have been this:

Whether have you a faire well bound Common-prayer-booke, &c. and then,

Whether have you an *Anlicus* in two full sheetes? Are these interrogatories fit for a Bishop, for a Prince's Tutor?

But well, *Anlicus* begins this week, as they begin every morning at *Saint Maries* in *Oxford*, with the Common-prayer-booke, and he lyes

And the Bishops are both put out of the Lords house together: It is very true, & both for one crime too, because they are but Copies and translations from Rome, from the pontificall, from the *breuiary*, from the *Mass-booke*, and indeed there is good reason it should tolke w Episcopacy, for it is the very darling of the Tippet, it is the *Appropria* of the corrupted Clergy, of the superstitious Lawne-sleeves, and the Prelates have read this common prayer so long to the common people of this Kingdom, that they mistake it for the very Protestant Religion, when it is but at best a reformed Relique of Rome, and was suffered at first, when people were so Popish, that they could endure nothing, but what had the marke of the beast upon it, and hath not the Lords done well to vote it cut, and the Chaplaines with it, and to say truly, *Arthur Needham*, the late Reader was so tedious in his dispatch, that he could never get wel through the Letany.

He tells us that *William Viscount Say* could not away with those formes; yes *Lord Say*. *Audience*, he could away with them you see, for he would not suffer them to stay; but do we wonder to see this Lord blotted in an *Oxford* pamphlet, when we cannot write him faire in our owne; but I desire to render this Lord to the world in his owne Character, and to wipe off the jealousies and reproaches which some have cast on;

It is not the least designe of the enemy to make those the objects of our distrusts and suspitions, which have greater interest in the Cause, and so to weaken us in our sincerest and truest, and to make us jealous of those, where we should be most confident, and this is to plander us of our Oracles, to put out the eye of our Counsellors, and I think if they should poison us in our Judgements of that eminent Peere, they had got a faire advantage; for my part, I must publish to the world, that I have ever thought the Lord a star in the firmament, and not a planet in an Orbe, I have thought him too fixed to fall or remove, he hath shined with a pure light before in our darkest and most cloudy times, but it is impossible for such grandees of State to take in much of the peoples affaires, and none of their discontent.

And it is a policy at *Oxford*, when they cannot make one of ours their own, to make him lesse ours.

He tells us of Master *Wood* a Lancashire Minister, that preached blasphemy at *Mr. Wood*. *Newton*, and sayes, the parishioners will sweare it, and take their oaths; now me thinks the question will be, whether the parishioners oaths, or Master *Wood*'s blasphemy mie be the worse; for my part I have no good opinion of such parishioners, that are so given to swaring: I warrant you the Divinity was good enough, as it came from *Mr. Wood*, but lighting into the malignant hands of some of *Newton* parish, they put it in to blasphemy presently, either by leaving out something of Master *Wood*, or adding something of their owne; like that ignorant Judge, that would needs sweare one of *Dauids* Psalmes was a Libell, having looked but feldome, like some of your *Oxford* Judges, into the Law of God.

He tells us of the charge against the Queene by the Members of both Houses, but Charge a he puts it into such an obscene and brothell language, I am forced to write it fairer, gainst the and more modestly: I wonder he dare commit to much treason with his pen, against the Royall Sex and modesty of her Majestie: But well, suppose that the Lords have from the charge of high treason, is it not fit that her Majestie, that hath put the kingdom to such vast charges, should have one charge laid against her selfe; and do you think so meanly of her Royall personage, that any thing below high treason is fit for her? No, I think she deserves an impeachment as high from this kingdom, as transcendent, as the Lords do give her: Will not counselling his Majestie against the

the Religion and peace of his kingdomes, will not raising a war, and providing wildfire for the State, rise up into the notion of high treason?

Aulicus
mistake.

He tels us, now they have voted downe, *root and branch*, they aime at the root and branch-Royall too; No, *Aulicus*, we would faine have that root in a better soile, the *Royall-Sprigs* will never grow well in an *Oxford-aire*; and earth. they can never blossom, nor flower kindly, when there are so many Jesuiticall and Prenticall weeds about them.

Vote a-
gunst
Dutton.

He tells that the houses vote against Mr. Dutton, Knight for Gloucestershire is too late; *Aulicus* thou mistakes the condition of Parliamentary Votes, for they take not place all at one time; as in the business of *Arundell-castle*, a vote will be effectuall upon it now, which would not have been before; so at *Aylesbury* and *Tostock*, votes can operate now; and so for the North; votes that concerne *Northumberland* and *Newcastle*, and *Durham*, are now beginning to worke, and to take place, and to come into reputation, and ere it belong, the old votes against Episcopacy, and against evill Councillors will be reviving, & believe it, it is an excellent providence of State to lay up votes, and sweeten them in lavender, and to have a stock and treasury of such *politick* results, and then they are ready for all the opportunities of providence.

Mr. Ven.

He tells us of Mr. Ven of *Winchester-castle*, whom he taxes for cruelty to the prisoners; *Aulicus*, it is as easie for thee to write cruelty as mercy, but we know well that we have ever exceeded you in acts of compassion; we have lodged and dieted your creatures better then you did your selves, and divers professe they had rather be our captives, then almost your Captains; but now you talke of our faithfull and gallant *Ven*, I must remember you of the doings at *Brayford*, we have not forgotten it; of *Byron*, whose Letter hath as many drops of blood in it, as Inke, of your barbarous usage of our prisoners, your driving them naked, your wounding them, and slaying them, and tormenting, and letting them rot, and starve, witness your Grotes at *Oxford*, at *Bristol*, at *Newcastle*, at *Yorke*.

He tels us of a designe upon the *Isle of Sylly*, *Aulicus*, I could wish thou wert Governor there for nanie sake.

He tels us againe of my Lord *Say*, and renders him under such a notion and crime towards them, as I hope will discharge him from all crimes to us, and these are his words:

William Viscount Say and Seale is now attainted here of high treason, and outlawed, for he did not onely refuse to come and attend his Majestie, but he detained the scale of the Court of Wards.

Reader, is not this a strange kinde of treason, it seemes this Lord was attainted in a double notion, not onely of *Say*, but of *Seale* too; did you ever heare of the Peccage of England condemned for treason in their names? are not these unreasonable proceedings thank you? My Lord *Say* is condemned for *Seale*; but the best is, he is as many miles from your attainer, as *Master Euston* from the vote in Parliament.

He tels us his Majestie hath made a new Scale for the Court of Wards, of silver, with the difference of three feathers; Reader, what shall we thinke of these things of *Oxford*? One week they accuse the Parliament of Forgery, and the next week they are forging themselves, and entitles his Sacred Maestie to the Designe, who (I hope) scorns the imputation: Are ye not ashamed (O ye evill Councillors) to seduce his Majestie, but to abuse him too? Are these they that fight for him, and make to light of wounding of his reputation? And for your new Scale of silver, it is true, for I hear

Oxford
page 7.

Prince

Prince Rupert plundered a paire of silver flagons for that very purpose; and for your other feathers, which you call the difference, indeed, I confesse, you & Oxford are excellent at making difference, not onely betwixt Seales, but betwixt Nobility and Gentry, betwixt King and Parliament, and people; and beside this difference of Seales, you have made as new a difference betwixt Prince Rupert, and her Maiestie, and Harry of Tarmouth.

He tells us of Monsieur Harcourt's packers opened; yes, and the designe is opened Packers too; but what a wicked Publican is that Goring, to lay imputations on that Monsieur, opened, as if he came over to betray the State of France to the Spanish interest; and to juggle betwixt King and Parliament; I am perswaded he scornes it.

He tells us of the States Ambassadors, and would faine speak them faire; but alas, States, they are free States, and know the miseries of tyranny and slavery, and are looking Ambass. a little behinde them at their Prince of Orange; and wish they had not let him into so deep an interest: Au'tis, never hope of any thing from these Ambassadors for the advance of your cause, unlesse it be a little gunpowder; and some few muskets, which you have stolne away while they were asleep.

He tells us now of certaine sad events, master Peris'son, that hath shor himselfe for Sad events taking the Covenant. Reader, if this be true, it may be a good warning to all the befallen malignants that take Covenants in hypocrisie, and reservations, for it seemes ma- malig- nants that the Peris'son made a strange end; and Au'tis confesses, he was one that chred not take the Covenant. He tells us of Mr. Whitehead that lies distracted, and cries out King, King, damned, M. White- head, damned, now this is a story as he tells it, full against his Maiestie, I prethee Au'tis, take better to thy Histories another time, and do not thus in every lease write treason, an evill fancy against the Crowne and put King and damned so basely together.

He tells us they have fired Sir Walter Earles house, do you see how they glory and Sir Walter Earles house fired point their mischiefs to the world: thus would they do with the body of hon. st Sir Water too, if they had it, even burne that fustian tabernacle to the ground. Powder.

He tells us of ships come in with store of powder: Reader, you see how they furnish themselves for prolonging the war and misery of our nation, and make the very water bring them fire.

He tells us of their Association of Devon and Cornwall, this is all the Association: they can boast off, for their North's Associations are beginning to disunite, and the con- on. galed malignity of those Counties thaws and dissolves, the coming in of the Scots grows so warme amongst them.

He tells us this Parliament makes every day of the weeke die Sabbath: I am sure Die Sab- they make never a day of the weeke a sabbath, but defiles it with Diurnalls, and bathi- prophanes the day with an ungodly Aud cas, and with sermons as bad as their Mer- cary, and furnished with little divinity.

He tells us of Captaine Lawson that was killed by one of their party, and his feather then I beleve, this is one of the feathers they made use on in their new Seal and im- Captaine Lawson. pression, and they would make us think that it is a sprig of the principality of Wales.

At last he rememberes us of a good Messag: his Maiestie sent his Parliament from Canterbury: alas, we can remember many of those, and now he names Canterbury, we cannot but remember the old Grana's, that reverend fire-work, the Archbishop, but for the gracious Messages of his Maiesties, we honour them, and thinke nothing so good a misfortune, as that he cannot be able in the midst of so many bad Counsellors to make good the Messages.

The Intelligence.

Scots
come in.

The ends
and aimes
of the
Scots
coming.

Our brethren of Scotland are now arrived amongst us, with an Army of about two or three and twenty thousand horse and foot, able enough in the strength of providence to end our differences, and so strong in declarations too, that they are provided as well to conquer the judgements and consciences of the Malignants, as their power and Armies; and that which may render them honourable and faithfull in the reputations of all, is this, their most serious and Religious aspeales to God Almighty, to this Kingdom, and to the consciences of all; that they came only at these three things:

1. The preservation, and reformation of Religion.
2. The honour and happiness of the King.
3. The peace and liberties of the kingdome.

And to seale these surer in our judgements, they have as religiously sworne, that their entrance and continuance in this kingdome, shall be made use of to no other ends.

And for the dis-jalousing of people, and taking away all distrusts, they suffer a Committee of our owne kingdome to act with them, and without whom they have attitled to act nothing.

Where is there an objection now, that is not answered beforehand? They have also, in a large Remonstrance, most wisely laid a foundation for resolving all scruples to come, for defeating all the falacies, and scandalls of the enemy: me thinks I see the feathers dropping out of the wings of Newcastle's Army: me thinks my lugges and Scotch-cerle, burne like Newcastle-coale already, & begin to cack and asseare.

Their Army you know was within seven miles of *Alnwick*, the 22. of the last month, I wonder *Naworth* the popish Astronomer could not foresee their march, nor observe their traine of Artillery and carriages by the aspect of some Planet: I wonder this fellow is no better acquainted with the malignant Constellations, for there are such in the heavens as well as the earth; there is a celestially malignity, there are stars that are very Cavaliers in their influence.

Tom
Glemham

Tom Glemham the Knight, and principall stickler for the Popery of the North, was at *Alnwick*, where he received a summons from our brethrens Army to yeild, but the man desired a little to advise with his neighbours of the North, and Northumberland, for to say truly, he never had any great store of brains of his own, and that hath made him so valiant, never fearing to have them beaten out, we hear not yet the successe, but when *Tom* once begins to consult, it is alwayes a signe *Glemham* will not stay long behinde his forces are but few, and weak, and far more able to retreat, then encounter.

William
Savill.

William Savill of *York*, Governour, and Baronet, is consulting too, like *Tom Glemham*, and he is as untoward at a Military Juicio, as at a charge on horseback, and he could never yet (as *Ned* the Groome reported) sit cleane in his saddle, it is thought he will leave the City of *York*, for the Knight is not able to hold out, if the Scots come ence to *Turham*: alas, he is of a plumpe constitution, and his body will never endure the scarcity nor leanness of a Siege.

Marmaduke
Langdale

Marmaduke Langdale, one of the Northernne Councill, the last Lord Deputies Spannell, for he had so cudgelled him at Court, that he durst not but fawne on it ever since, is now considering with himselfe, and hopes the Scots will open some little wicket in their Declaration and let him in, but be it known unto all men, this is the Commander in chiefe of the Apostates, for to give him his due, like a Northernne Sabar, he was the first that fell in those parts, and no man hath brought more fire, and lesse water to this cause than himselfe.

Ned

Ned Osborne the Knight, another of the *Juncto* in the north for advance of *Popery*; this fellow was once a *Bajazer* of the North the last Lord Deputy, he is now extremely distracted with the coming in of our brethren, and knowes not well what to do, but is advising I heare with his Lady, for she is as good at the thing of *Popery*, as the Dutches of *Buckingham* herselfe, this Lady and the Lord *Savills* mother, and two or three more of the female Malignants meet every day for the good of the body politticke in the North.

From *Nottingham*, we have excellent newes, *Colonell Thornhagh* encouraging the forces in the Castle so gallantly, till he converted his Troopes into Infantry, and enlarged his pistols into muskets, commanding every Trooper to serve on foote, till he beat the enemy the same pace out of the Towne, that they entered; leaving many dead, and lacing the snow with a purple galooome for two miles distance, they took many prisoners, and some men of quality, and qualities bad enough.

From *Oxford*, the what call you it, or the thing of Lords and Commons hath not resolved of any thing, for it is not yet named by the witnesses, either a Parliament, or a great Counsell, or a *Juncto*, or an Assembly, or a Meeting, or a Sessions, or an Assise, or a Conclave, or a Conciliable, or a Conventicle, or a Parliament Junior, or a Senate Minor.

Sir John Culpeper made a motion for delivering up Delinquents, but there was too little Salt, and too much Peper in it; and *Jermin*, *Percy*, and *Windebanke*, and *Digby* did not like the seasoning of the speech.

The *Prince* is intended for *Wales*, where his highnesse by advice of his Tutor *Dupper*, must raise some more innocent Subjects to sacrifice to the sword; what a sad thing is this to see such a branch of the Supremacy sprinkled so with blood in his tender yeares, we may see what paines these malignant *Hophmeyes* take to educate Monarchy into Tyrannie.

There are many Letters sent from *Oxford*, like Decoyes, to carry some away with them, they are now at their last designe, at the setting up a thing like a Parliament.

I shall not remember yee of the late designs and discoveries, the excellent services performed by *Sir Henry Vane* the younger, that faithfull and noble Senatour, and Master *Nye* that reverend and prudent divine, who wisely got the keyes from old *Bristol* the doore-keeper, into the deepest designs and interests at *Oxford*, and gave them into the hands

Ned Osborne.

Nottingham.

Oxford
yet, new-
nothing.

Culpepers
motion.

Letters
like Decoyes.

Discoveries.

of

of the Parliament, though the Malignants would raise mists and clouds to darken their deserts.

His Excellency hath received a Letter warme from an Oxford Seale, subscribed by the Prince, the Duke of Yorke, &c. to make a suddaine peace, lest the Scots take all; but doe ye thinke this Royall Progeny could write a stratagem of this nature, but that *Hophay* guides their hand? did you ever see such a treasonable *Dupper*, thus to staine the tender Ermins of our King Jome, with the drops of his *Machivilian Inke*, teaching them the worst principles of State, before the Catechisme of their Religion? But his Excellency hath faithfully and nobly communicated all with the States, and will I suppose returne an answer befitting a Generall for a Reformed Religion, and so grand a Parliament.

And now I am naming his Excellency, I cannot forget his noble act of Justice upon Colonell *Fines*, in pardoning his misfortune, for neither the sentence of death, nor his pardon doe in the least impeach him either of treachery or cowardise, and it is pity we should bury the eminent deserts and publike vertues of that Gentleman in the sepulchre of an unfortunate action, but we should rather put a difference in offences, and sooner pity then prosecute the fallings of the best, and not make our sufferings the only arguments of his.

Namp-
wich.

The news from *Nampwich*, and the raising of that siege, is of great concernment, and wherein we may observe what a just reward those *Apollare forces* of Ireland have met with for deserting their first cause of taking up Armes against Popery, most of their Commanders and Officers being taken prisoners that came over to this expedition, by those valiant Commanders Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and Sir *William Brereton*, the particulars being so publike, I shall not insist upon it, only it was pity the blood-thirsty Lord *Byron* did run by and escaped.

His Excellency hath returned an answer to the Oxford message, and hath sent them the Nationall Covenant, and the Declaration of both Kingdomes.

Doubts.

I shall a little interrupt my method, by reason of a new urgent Doubt. What is this meeting at Oxford, a Parliament, or no?

Resolution.

No, First, it consists only of those who formerly in a Parliament here voted all those *Delinquents* that assisted his majesty in that course, so as they are now enemies to the State by their *owne vote*, and judgement, and *Delinquents* at the bar of a Parliament, and then no Parliament sure; besides, they are not rightly constituted, nor circumstanced. You may only call it an honourable Thing, a meeting of *Delinquents*, an assembly of evill Counsellours.

Printed according to Order, for G. B. and R. W.

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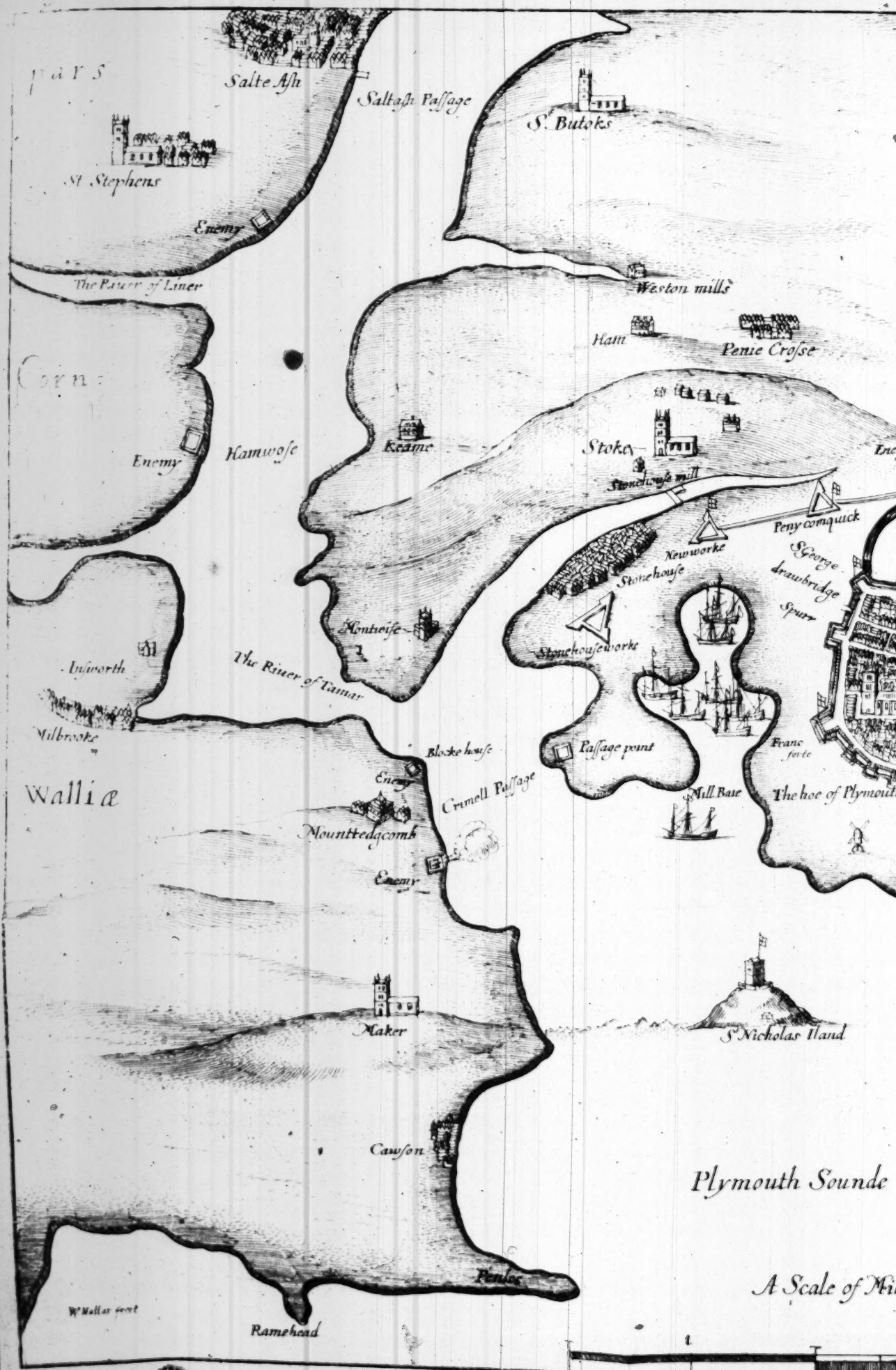
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A TRVE MAPP AND DESCRIPTION OF THE TOW
ne of Plymouth, and the Fortifications thereof, with the wor
kes and approaches of the Enemy, at the last Seige: A^o 1643.





A True
NARRATION

15.

Of the most Observable Passages, in
and at the late Seige of PLYMOUTH, from
the fifteenth day of *September* 1643, untill the
twenty fift of *December* following. Attested
from thence under the hands of the most
Credible Persons: Wherein is manifested to
the World the handy-work of God, and
his gracious assistance to the United
Forces of that Towne and
Garrison.

Together with an exact Map and Description of the
Town and Fortifications thereof; with the approaches
of the Enemy.

As also the Summons of the Cavaliers to the
Major and Governour of the said Towne.

And Prince MAURICE his Warrant to the
Countrey since the raising of
the Seige.

Imprimatur IOHN WHITE.



LONDON

Printed by L. N. for Francis Eglesfeild, and are to be sold at the
signe of the Marygold in Pauls Church-yard. 1644.



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A true Narration of the most observable Passages, in, and at the late Siege of *Plymouth*; from the 15 of September, 1643, Untill the 25 of December following, &c.

After Colonell *Wardlaw*, Commander in chiefe, and Colonell *Gould*, with the 600 men, shipt at Portsmouth, about the 15 of September, for the reliefe of this Towne, had stopt in Torbay; and finding Dartmouth besieged, left 100 men there for the strengthening of that Garrison: we arrived at Plymouth the last of September; (which Towne had been blockt up by horse so that no provisions was brought in from the Countrey for six weeks before) and having refreshed our men, and mounted some 150 of them on horseback, the enemy having only one regiment of foot (besides their horse) lying before us at their quarter at Plymstoke, and keeping a constant guard at Howe, close under Mount Stanford, consisting of about three hundred foot and a Troop of horse, which fort they intended first to assault: about nine dayes after our arrivall, the eighth of October, we put over some three hundred men before day in boats, to Mount Stanford, and at breake of day fell on and surpris'd the enemies guard at Howe; took Captaine *Slowley*, one Ensigne, fifty two common souldi-

ers prisoners, two Colours, and three barrels of powder, and put the rest to flight, with the losse only of two men of our side: about the same time we secured some Malignants in the Towne, and sent up three of them to the Parliament.

By this time the Enemy had taken Dartmouth, and was on his march with his whole army, to sit downe before us; and we receiving intelligence that the enemy kept a guard of two Troops of Horse at *Knackers-hole*, about two miles from our Workes, the fifteenth of October we sallied out with our Horse and two hundred Musquetiers, surprized that guard, and had taken twenty or thirty prisoners, but about sixteen of our horse pursued the rest that fled so fast, that their orders for retreat could not overtake them, engaged themselves too farre, and returning loaden with prey and prisoners, other Troopes of the Enemy coming from their quarters on *Roborron-Downe*, to answer the Alarme, met with our pursuers and took them all, save only Major *Searle* charged thorow them and escaped, Lieutenant *Chasing*, with fourteen more, were taken, and after escaped out of prison, and returned to us, save only two or three.

And now the Enemy being settled in his quarters, at Plympton, Plymstoke, Causands, Buckland, Tamerton, &c. With an army consisting of five Regiments of Horse, & nine Regiments of foot, brought over land from Yalme, thirteene fisher-boats, into Plunket-Mills Bay, over against Prince Rock, with an intention as we conceived to land men on Cat-downe in the night, which they did not attempt, but set on Mount Stanford in good earnest: and the twenty one of October in the night, they raised a square Work within Pistoll shot of our Fort of Stanford, on the North

North-east side, and from thence were drawing of a Line with Halfe Moones to surround the said Fort, thereby to hinder our relieves from coming unto it. To prevent which, the same day we fell on the Enemy in their New Worke they had raised, with all the disadvantage on our part that possibly could be imagined, exposing our open naked bodies to an Enemy within a strength, and assisted by their Horse, who much annoyed us, we having none of our Horse to assist us, nor could have, the Sea being betwene us and them; after long skirmish and diverse repulses, at last we got their Halfe Moone, and after three houres hot fight, their close VVorke, and in it Captaine *White*, and fifty other prisoners: in which Work we put a Guard that night of thirty Musquetires, commanded by an Ensigne: by whose treachery or cowardize, the Enemy falling on that night, the said Guard quitted the Worke to them, without giving any Alarme to the Fort, for which he was shot to death shortly after; which cost us a new labour the next day, with farre greater difficulty and danger then before: the Enemy having of their Horse and Foot ready to second their guard in their new regained Worke, which yet we againe made ours, after the losse on our part of Captaine *Corbet*, who was shot in the Forehead as wee fell on upon their Work, and three other of our Captaines were also wounded this day and the day before; and wee had in both fights some twenty men killed, and above one hundred wounded, of whom many are since recovered. The Enemy lost six Commanders whose names were concealed from us, and many men, besides those taken prisoners.

After we had gained the Enemies Worke the second time we slighted it: but to prevent the like approaches, in regard Mount Stanford being a small Worke, and very

untenable of it selfe, much lesse to keepe so large a circuit of grounds as it was built to defend, we were necessitated to draw a Line of Communication both on the East and West side of the Worke, to maintaine a long ridge of ground, with Halfe Moones at each end of the Line, which we defended diverse dayes with extraordinary duty to our men, and divers skirmishes with the Enemy, till the third of November, when the Enemy planted their Batteries within Pistoll shot of our Forts; and on the fifth of November battered our Worke with two hundred Demy-Cannon and whole Culverin shot, besides other smaller Cannon that continually played on us, and flank-ed our Line from Ofan-Hill, whereby breach was made in the Fort at severall places, and the Lieutenant and some Gunners of the Fort slaine: the breach we repaired in the night, thickning the Rampart asmuch as the smallnesse of our work would admit, and strengthened the weakest places with Woollstackes; The next day they continued their Battery till noone, with too much successe, yet so as no considerable breach was made that day: the enemy whither they had intelligence of the want of provisions and Ammunition in the Fort, about one of the clock fell on with horse and Foot on our Half-moons & Line, where we had reason able guard: but tired with eight daies duty and long watching, after an hours skirmish were enforced to retreat from the Half-moon and Breast work, and were taken by the enemies Horse who came on the backs of them.

The Captaine of the Fort having but seven men of thirty-six left to mannage the Gunnes, seeing himself thus surrounded by the enemy, whereby no reliefe of provisions or Ammunition could be brought him from the Towne; and upon examination finding but two barrells of
good

good powder, and a small quantity of Case shot with him; and no provisions, and having held off the enemy some two houres, and given a signe to the Towne by hanging out a Wift, that he was in distresse, and no reliefe came; and the Townsmen for some reasons which you shall hear anon, being unwilling to go over, and Collonell *Goulds* Regiment being those that were tired, and put to the retreat, unfit to encounter the enemies whole army that were fresh and victorious. The Captain yeelded the Fort on composition about four of the clock, upon conditions, that he should march off with Colours flying, marches lighted, Bullets in mouth, and a Demy-Culverin the best in the worke, with bagge and baggage, and that the enemy should exchange all the prisoners they had taken of ours that day, being about fourtie, for the like number of their prisoners with us, which the next day was effected accordingly; but we are unwilling to let the world know by whose Treachery, at least neglect, this Fort was lost, for want of convenient quantities of Ammunition and provision. While the enemy was busie about Mount-Stanford, we had begun to raise a worke upon Howstart, where our men retreated after they were beaten from Mount-Stanford, which being unfinished, and the same wearied men enjoyned to keep it till the morning (for we had no other, the Townsmen refusing to give over) possessed with feare of the enemies Horse quitted that place also, which the enemy soon after seized upon, and have there built a Fort and divers Batteries to hinder Shipping from coming into the Harbour, and others to shoot into the Towne, and at our windmill on the Hoe. But notwithstanding they have done no harme to any Ship or boat that hath passed in or out for these two monethes past, nor hath any

any shot of the many hundreds they have sent into the Towne, from thence, done the least hurt to man, woman, or childe, (except one woman hurt in the arme with a stone) and but little to the houses, save that they shot off one vane of the Windmill which was presently new grafted; so that by experience we finde, that the losse of Mount-Stanford, was the wonderfull providence and goodnesse of God towards us, which had we kept, we must necessarily have lost the best of our strength in the defence of it, and having lost it, we finde small damage by it, our Ships being beaten out of Carwater before we lost Mountstandford by the enemies Cannon planted at Osan, and by a Batterie under Mount-Edgecombe on the other side, from riding between the Island and the Main, so that we were faine to take Mill-Baye for sanctuary: nay rather the losse of that was infinitely advantagious unto us, in the neerer uniting of our small strength for the defence of the Towne, and the offering an opportunity to us to seize upon the Fort and Island, the most considerable strengths, in the Kingdom, which then were utterly destitute of provision, Ammunition, or any thing else necessary for the defence of them, of which neglect, and the authors of it, account may be given to the Parliament in due time: for in the very instant of the losse of Mount-Stanford, while all men stood in doubt of the issue, Colonell *Gould* by order from Colonell *wardlaw*, Commander in chiefe, tooke possession of both those places, and afterwards settled stronger Garisons with store of provision and Ammunition of all sorts in the said Fort and Island. The securing whereof, and at the request of the well affected of the Towne, of four deputy Lieutenants in them, of whose unfaithfulnesse to the State the Townsmen had great suspition, we have found since to have

have been a most effectuall meanes, under God, to preserve the Towne. For these persons and places being secured and victualled, the Towne, which before was altogether divided and hartlesse in its defence; now grew to be united with a Resolution to sticke by us in the defence thereof, partly out of fear, knowing that the Fort and Iland would begoades in their sides, if the Towne should be lost; but especially from their assurance of our reall intention to defend the Towne to the last man, by the securing of those four deputie Lientenants whom they suspected, and by the many asseverations and resolutions of the officers, that they would, when they could defend the Towne no longer, burn it to ashes, rather then the enemies of God and his cause should possesse it: which resolution of theirs they confirmed, by joyning with us in a solemne Vow and Covenant for the defence of the Towne. A copie whereof is annexed to the end of this relation.

The Enemy thus possessed of Mount-Sranford, accounting now all to be his owne, sends a Trumpet to us with a Summons, a Coppie whereof also followeth at the end, which was answered by silence.

The same day Mount Stanford was taken, the Enemy made an attempt upon Lypson worke, but were repulse, with losse.

The eleventh of November a party of Horse and Musquetiers were commanded out to Thorne-hill to guard in Wood and Hay; but they transgressed their order, and pursued some of the enemies Horse to Knockers-hole, killed a Captaine and some common Troopers, and tooke some prisoners; but staying too long, drew the maine body of the Enemies horse upon them, and Major *Leyton* striving to make good their retreat, was taken in the Reare, after he had received five wounds. And

And now the Enemy having refreshed his men, and having secured his new gotten purchase, about the sixteenth of November sits downe on the North side of our Towne, we in the meane time being busied in mending up some Hedges that were formerly pulled downe betweene the Workes; the only Line of Communication we yet have scarce defensible against the stormings of Horse, yet such places we must now resolve to defend upon equall termes with the Enemy; for the Workes are of such a distance each from other, and the grounds so uneven, that an enemy may in some places approach within the workes, without any molestation by them.

On the twenty eighth of November the enemy planted his battery against Lypson worke, but could not approach within Musquet shot to batter our Worke, in regard of a deepe Valley betweene, by reason whereof, after three dayes battery they did little execution on our worke.

About this time, one *Ellis Carkeet* a malignant Mariner was accused and laid fast, for tampering with *Roger Kneebone* the chiefe Gunner at Maudline Worke, to blow up the said worke, the powder roome being buried in it, and he having the keyes, which was discovered by the said *Kneebone*, after he had concealed it diverse dayes, God not suffering his conscience to give him rest till he had revealed it. Upon the apprehension of *Carkeete*, two notorious Malignants, *Henry Pike* a Vintner, and *Moses Collins* an Attourney, conceived to be privie to his treason, fled to the Enemy. And upon the third of December, being the Lords day, the enemy (as is credibly informed) guided by these two Renegadoes with foure hundred Musquetires three houres before day, surprized our guard at Lary point, and in it three peeces of Ordnance. The worke is but a

Halfe

Halfe Moone, and the guard there placed only to give the Alarme, if the enemy should approach Lare-Point over the sands when the tyde is out. By which meanes the enemy comming on under Lipson-worke (being a false variable ground to them by reason of its steepnesse,) and comming on the back of our guard, easily surprized it; the Alarme being given to the Towne, and one hundred and fifty Horse and three hundred Musquetires at break of day ready to fall on upon the Enemy that were possesse of our worke; which the enemy at Mount Stanford perceiving (for we fell on upon the South side of the hill that was from the enemies view) gave the maine body of the enemy that was at Compton all in armes, a Warning-piece: upon which, Prince *Maurice* and all the gallantry of their armie, with five Regiments of Horse and foure of Foot (having in the night made their way with Pioneers) advanced under protection of their owne Ordnance, and a hedge which they possesse, where we usually had our Centries, and where since we have built a Worke under Lypson, to the assistance of those who in the night had surprized our guard, we were in hope to have beaten off the enemy before their seconds came up; and with Horse and Foot falling resolutely on them, met with strong opposition, and Captaine *Wansley* a gallant man, charging at a gap which formerly he knew to be open, but now made up by the enemy, was unfortunately slaine; which made our Horse give ground, and both Horse and Foot after to an absolute Rout for three fields together: at which time some of the enemies Horse mixt themselves with ours, and came within Pistoll shot of the wals and were killed or taken. When a stand being made upon the height of the Hill

above Lypson-worke, and fresh men being drawne from severall guards, our men being encouraged, we held our ground for foure houres. During which time, our ship at Lare-point, seeing our Guard there taken, entertained a Parley with the enemy, and so stood Newters till we had bearen the enemy to a retreat, for which, some of them are in question for their life. The enemy likewise sent a Trumpet to Lypson worke to summon it, and was answered with the Cannon after the Trumpet was commanded to depart. And wee having gotten a small Drake planted in the crosse way, discharged it foure or five times on the enemies Horse with good execution; and giving a signe by the sound of a Drumme, when our severall commanded places should fall on, the enemy began to give ground, and some two Hundred Musquetires of the Trained bands of the Towne being come to our assistance, and a party of some sixty Musquetires sent about to play on the backes of the enemies, was no sooner perceived by the enemy, but he commanded a retreat, which was followed so close by us, that it was little better then a hasty flight; for retreating most part over the Lare, and not the same way they came on, their Reare gard of Horse of about one hundred being cut off from their way of retreat, were forced into the Mudde, betwene Lypson Worke and Lare-point, and the Horse were almost all taken or drowned when the Sea came in, some of the Riders crawling through the Mud, hardly escaped; many of the enemy were killed in their retreat by our horse and foot, and by the ship at Lare-point, who then grew honest againe: of prisoners wee tooke a Captaine-Lieutenant of Horse, and one *Langford* a Priest, that was a Captaine, and some thirty common

mon souldiers, and thirteene barrels of Powder, two Teames of Horses with furniture, by which they were drawing up our Ordnance against us. Of ours, the enemy tooke in our first retreat, *Captaine Lieutenant Roe*, *Lieutenant Vpton*, *Ensigne Crocker*, and *Francis Rolles* *Ensigne*, and about forty common men, besides *Captaine Wansey*, and about twelve more killed, and a hundred more wounded, of whom, some are since dead: *Colonell Gould* had one horse killed under him, and another shot, but he mercifully preserved. The Lord shewed himselfe wonderfully in our deliverance, in that when the enemy had gotten a ground of advantage, and were tenne to one against us, yet was pleased by our handfull to drive them backe another way then they came. For had the enemy possesst the ground that they had gotten that night, the next day they would have been masters of all Cat-downe, and then we must have quitted our Out-workes as unusefull to us, and have betaken our selves to the Towne walls, which then were not fully finished, and could not long have been defended. The same day, the enemy with horse and foote assaulted Penny-come-quick-workes and were repulst with much losse.

The enemy being thus repulst, suffered us to be quiet (as his usuall manner was) for 15 or 20 daies after: in the meane time gathering up his routed Troopes, save that one night he fel on upon a work we were raising under *Lypson*, called in the Mappe *Lypson-Mill worke*, for the prevention of the enemies incurstion againe that way, and partly slighted it, our guard there quitting it without a shot; from which they were suddenly beaten againe and the worke re-edified. It were endlesse to ac-

quaint you with the servall light Skirmishes, that daily
 past betweene us, sometimes about our cattell that
 stragled without our workes, at other times, to passe
 time by bravadoes and ambuscadoes made by our guards
 to entrappe the enemy. And now the enemy finding
 his Battery against Lypson, and his intent to possesse
 himselfe of Lare-point successelesse, he takes about and
 beginnes to make his approaches against Maudlin work,
 we in the meane time thickning that worke within to
 make it prooffe, and finding their Batteries planted with-
 in Musquet shot of our worke, we planted a platforme
 close by Maudlin worke, and drew out a Demy-Cannon
 which was taken in a prize that was going to the Rebels
 in *Ireland*, to counter-batter against them, intending to
 have planted another, if it had been needfull. Upon the
 eighteenth of December the enemy began to Batter, but
 by reason of our counter-Batterie which played con-
 stantly into their worke through their ports, whereby
 their men could not stand safely by their Ordance, we
 having the advantage in playing downe into them from
 a commanding ground; The enemy in two dayes time,
 could do no good with his Batterie: but on Wednesday
 night the twentieth of December through the carelesnes
 of the Captaine of that guard, that set out centries per-
 cūe, it being a wet and darke night, the enemy raised a
 square worke with the helpe of a corner of a field, with-
 in pistoll shot of Maudlin worke, almost in a direct line
 between that and Pennicom-quick, which if they had
 held, might have cut us off from the reliefe of that
 worke, &c.

Thursday in the morning the twenty first day of De-
 cember, as soone as it was discovered, the ordinary guardes
 there,

there, being some threescore men, fell on in hope to have regained it without any more helpe. But found their worke guarded with two or three hundred men, and so were faine to retreat untill supply came from the Towne.

And then about nine of the clock in the morning, having Horse and Foot in a readinesse, we fell on upon their worke, and received the repulse twise, once after we had gained the worke, but our men heartned with the assistance of some fresh men, and backt with most of the strength we could make, fell on, tooke, and slighted the enemies work, took prisoners a Captaine, Prince *Maurices* Trumpeter, and some few others more, and killed that day neer a 100 men, there were taken of ours by the enemy Lieutenant *William Haywar*, and two more surrounded by the enemies Horse in one place, and as many in another: we had twenty men killed in the place whereof Ensigne *Grimes* was one, and some four-score wounded, whereof Ensigne *Samuel Horte*, and some others are since dead, upon the enemies retreat we could hardly dissuade our Souldiers from falling on their workes to gaine their Ordnance. But we had too few men to adventure upon so hazardous a designe.

The next day we could see the enemy preparing to draw off their Ordnance, and on Christmas day the twentieth of December in the morning, they drew off their guards from about us, being the same day that Prince *Maurice* promised his Souldiers they should be in Plymouth.

That day *Thomas Bassett* Major General to the enemy, called to an Officer of ours that was in their worke, and told him that he thought God fought against them,
and

and said if he could be convinced that he was not in the right, he would hang himselfe at his doore erre he would take up armes again in that quarrell.

The next day after, the enemy rising from before us, part of two of our workes fell downe, which might have indangered the losse of them, if they had continued their seige.

The enemy now quarter at Tavestock and Plympton, to refresh their men, and to recrute for a fourth seige, and for the present they blocke us up from provision, having driven all the country before them of all sorts of cattell, so that we cannot subsist long unlesse store of all sorts of provisions be sent us.

But if we may have a considerable supply of men, Money, Armes for Horse and Foot, sent us with speed, by Gods assistance we may be able to take the field, for all the Countrey is inclined to us, which opportunitie we hope the Parliament will not neglect.

One remarkable passage of Gods providence to us, we must withall thankfulnessse remember and acknowledge, that after the Towne had been a long time strictly beseiged, and no fresh victuall either flesh or fish, could be had, whereby the poore people were grievously punished, there came in an infinite multitude of Pilchards into the Harbour within the Barbicon, which the people tooke up with great ease in baskets, which did not onely refresh them for the present, but a great deale more were taken, preserved, and salted; whereby the poore got much Money, such a passage hath not happened before.

We cannot forget the humanity of the good women of Plymouth, and their courage in bringing out
strong

strong waters, and all sorts of provisions in the midst of all our skirmishes for refreshing of our Souldiers, though many shot through the cloathes.

We cannot omit to set downe also how that in few dayes after our first arrivall here, one *Sampson Hele*, Esquire: came in a message to this Towne, from the Prince, to perswade the yeelding of it: But coming without Drumme or Trumpet, for his offence, hee was perswaded to yeeld us two thousand pounds for the payment and cloathing of our Souldiers, without which wee could not possibly have subsisted so long. The enemies word in this last fight was, (*The Towne is ours*) and our word was, (*God with us.*)

We had upon the losse of Mount-Stanford a day of Humiliation, and upon Gods deliverance of us, at Lare point a day of Thanksgiving, and another since the seige was raised. The chiefe commanders before us, were, Prince *Maurice*, The Earles of *Marleborough*, and *Newport*, The Lord *Mohun*, Lieutenant Generall *Wagstaffe*, Major Generall *Basset*, Sir *Thomas Hele*, Sir *Edmund Fortescue*, Sir *John Grenvile*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Sir *James Coburne*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *Peter Courtney*, Sir *William Courtney*, and divers other considerable persons, many of whom, aswell as of the common Soulders, are since either dead or desperately sicke.

William Gould, Colonell. *Michael Serle*, Lieutenant Colonell. *Nathaniel willis*, Serjeant Major.

Captaines.

Thomas Hallsey. *Samuel Bertch*. *Gabriel Baynes*. *William Wotton*. *Henry Plumley*. *William Hill*. *Thomas Hughes*. *Robert Northcote*. *Henry Potter*. *Humphrey Barton*.

To



To the *Major* and *Governour* of the
Towne of *Plymouth*.

THat you may see our hearty desires of
a just Peace, We doe Summon you in
his Majesties name, to surrender the
Towne, Fort, and fland of *Plymouth*,
with the warlike provisions thereunto be-
longing, into Our hands for his Majesties
use: And We do hereby assure you, by the
power derived to Vs, from his Majestie,
upon the performance here of, of a gene-
rall Pardon for what is past: And in-
gage Our Selves in Our Honour, to secure
your persons and estates, from all violence
and plunder. We have now quitted Our
Selves

Selves on Our parts; and let the blood that shall be spilt in the obtaining of these just demands (if denied by you) be your guilt.

Given under Our hands at *Mount Stanford* the 18 day of November, *Anno Dom. 1643.*

John Digby. Thomas Bassett. Peter Killigrew.
Io. Wagstaffe. Jonathan Treleany. R. Prideaux.
John Arundell. Tho. Monke. Will. Arundell.
John Downing. Tho. Stucley.



PLYMOUTH the 4 of Novemb. 1643.

IT is this day Ordered by the Councell of War. That this Vow and Protestation as followeth, be openly published in the Assemblies by the Ministers of this Towne, to morrow, being the fifth of *Novemb. 1643.* And that it may be presented particularly to all Officers and Souldiers, Inhabitants and Strangers, of the Townes and Garrisons of *Plymouth* and *Stonehouse*, the Fort and Iland: And that especiall notice be taken of all such as shall refuse to take the said Vow and Protestation, Which is as followeth.

I *A. B.* in the presence of Almighty God do Vow and protest, that I wil to the utmost of my power faithfully maintain and defend the Townes of Plymouth, Stone-House, the Fort and Iland withall the out workes and Fortifications to the same belonging, against all Forces now raised against the said Townes, Fort and Iland or any part thereof, or that shall be raised by any power or Authoritie whatsoever, without the consent and authority of both Houses of Parliament, neither will I by any way or meanes whatsoever, contrive or consent to the giving up of the Townes and Fortifications aforesaid, or any parcell of them, into the hands of any person or persons whatsoever, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, or of such as are authorized thereunto by them: neither will I raise nor consent to the raising of any Force or tumult, nor will I by any way or meanes give or yeeld to the giving of any advice, counsell, or intelligence to the prejudice of the said Townes and Fortifications, either in whole, or in part, but will withall faithfully discover to the Major of Plymouth and to the Commander in chiefe there, whatsoever designe, I shall know or hear of hurtfull thereunto. Neither have I accepted any pardon or protection, nor will accept any protection from the enemy. And this Vow and Protestation I make, without any equivocation and mentall reservation whatsoever: beleeving, That I cannot be absolved from this my Vow and Protestation, and wishing no blessing from God on my selfe or my posteritie if I do not truly and sincerely performe the same. So helpe me God.

Prince



Prince Maurice

HIS WARRANT

Since the Raifing of the Siege.

To the Constables of *Egluckland*; and after notice
taken of Publishing, To the Constables or
Tythingmen of *St. Budeaux*, there
to be Published.

FOr as much as divers persons disaffected
to his Majesties service, make their daily
recourse into Plymouth, furnishing the
Rebels there with all manner of provision for
Man and Horse, contrary to his Majesties Pro-
clamation, prohibiting the same: these are
therefore signifying, That if any person of what
degree or quality, doe ever presume to have any
commerce or dealing with any in the said
Towne of Plymouth, or otherwise; send into
the said Towne; or take, or carry with him any
D 2 Horses

Horses, Oxen, Kine, sheepe, or other provision for Men or Horse into the said Towne of Plymouth, for the reliefe of the Rebels there; every such person and persons shall be proceeded against both in person and estate as Abettors of this horrid Rebellion, and contemners of his Majesties Proclamation, according to the limitation of the Court of Warre in such cases provided. Willing and requiring all Majors, Bayliffes, Iustices of the peace, Constables, and all other of his Majesties Officers and Ministers, to cause this to be forthwith published in all Churches, Chappels, Markets, or other places; whereby his Majesties loving Subjects may the better take notice hereof.

Maurice.

Ordered to be printed.

F I N I S.

16

Mr. Cottons

LETTER

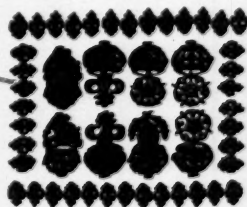
Lately Printed,

EXAMINED

AND

ANSVVERED:

By *Roger Williams of Providence*
In
NEW-ENGLAND.



1644

LONDON,

Imprinted in the yeere 1644.

1643



To the Impartial Reader:

This Letter I acknowledge to have received from Mr. Cotton (whom for his personall excellencies I truly honour and love.) Yet at such a time of my distressed wanderings amongst the Barbarians, that being destitute of food, of cloths, of time I referred it (though barely, amidst so many barbarous distractions) and afterward prepared an Answer to be returned.

In the Interim, some Friends being much grieved, that one, publike-ly acknowledged to be godly and dearly beloved, should yet be so exposed to the mercy of an howling Wildernesse in Frost and Snow, &c. Mr. Cotton to take off the edge of Censure from himself, profess both in speech and writing, that He was no procurer of my sorrows.

Some Letters then past between us, in which I proved and exprest, that if I had perished in that sorrowfull winters flight; only the blood of Jesus Christ could have wished him from the guilt of mine.

His finall Answer was, had you perished, your blood had beene on from a mercifull man.

Here I confesse I stoppt, and ever since suppress mine Answer, waiting if it might please the Father of mercies, more to mollifie and soften, and render more humane and mercifull, the care and heart of that (otherwise) excellent and worthy man.

It cannot now, be justly offensive, that finding this Letter publike (by whose procurement I know not) I also present to the same publike view, my formerly intended Answer.

I rejoyce in the goodnesse and wisdom of him, who is the Father of lights and mercies, in ordering the season both of mine owne present opportunity of Answer: As also, and especially of such Protestations and Resolutions of so many fearing God, to seeke what Worship and worshippers are acceptable to him in Iesus Christ.

Mine owne eares were glad and late Witness of an heavenly Speech of one of the most eminent of that high Assembly of Parliament; viz. why should the Labours of any bee suppress if sober, though never so different? We now profess to seek God, we desire to see light, &c.

I know there is a time when God will not be found, though men seek him early Prov. 1.

There

There is a time when Prayer and Fasting comes too late, Jer. 14.
There is a seeking of the God of Israel with a stumbling block, according to which God giveth his Israel an answer, Ezek. 13.

Lastly, there is a Proud refusal of the mind of God, returned in Answer by the Prophet Jer. 42.

Whole hearted
seekers the on-
ly seekers of
Christ Iesus,
Love bids me hope for better things: Gods promise assures us, that his people returning from Captivity, shall seeke him and pray and find him, when they seeke him with their whole heart, Jer. 27. And Gods Angel comforts those against all feares that seeke Iesus that was crucified, Mark 16.

Christ Iesus
whom he sa-
veth he tea-
cheth,

Thy soule so prosper (who ever thou art) Worthy Reader, as with thy whole heart thou seekest that true Lord Iesus, who is holynesse is selfe, and requires a Spirituall and holy Bride like to himselfe, the pure and spotlesse Lambe. Hee alone as he is able to save thee to the utmost from thy sins and sorrowes by his Blood. So hath hee brought his Fathers Councell, from his Bosome, and every soule is bound (on paine of eternall Paines) to attend alone his Lawes and Ordinances, Commandes and Statutes, Heb. 7. Acts 3.

The true Lord
Iesus studied
humility and
selfe-deniall.

That Lord Iesus, who purposely chose to descend of meane and inferior Parents, a Carpenter, &c.

Who disdained not to enter this World in a Stable, amongst Beasts, as unworthy the society of Men: Who past through this World with the esteeme of a Madman, a Deceiver, a Conjuror, a Traitor against Caesar, and destitute of an house wherein to rest his head: Who made choise of his first and greatest Embassadors out of Fisher-men Tent-makers, &c. and at last chose to depart on the stage of a painfull shamefull Gibbet.

Seekers of
Christ are sure
of a gracious
answere,
2 Thess. 1.

If him thou seekest in these searching times, mak'st him alone thy white and soules beloved, willing to follow and be like him in doing, in suffering: although thou find'st him not in the restoration of his Ordinances, according to his first Patterne.

Yet shalt thou see him, raigne with him, eternally admire him, and enjoy him, when he shortly comes in flaming fire to burne up millions of ignorant and disobedient.

Your most Vnworthy Countrey-man

Roger Williams.



Mr. Cottons Letter

Examined and Answered.

CHAP. I.

Mr. Cotton.



*B*ELOVED In Christ.

Answer. Though I humbly desire to acknowledge my selfe unworthy to be beloved and most of all unworthy of the name of Christ, and to be beloved for his sake: yet since Mr. Cotton is pleased to use such an affectionate compellation and testimoniall expression, to one so afflicted and per-

secuted by Himselfe and others (whom for their personall worth and godlinesse I also honour and love.) I desire it may be seriously reviewed by Himselfe and Them, and all men, whether the Lord Jesus be well pleased that one, beloved in him, should (for no other cause, then shall presently appeare) be denied the common aire to breath in, and a civill cohabitation upon the same common earth; yea and also without mercy and humane compassion be expoyted to winter miteries in a howling Wildernes?

A monstrous Paradox, that Gods children should persecute Gods children, and that they that hope to live eternally together with Christ Iesus in the heavens should not suffer each other to live in this common

aire together, &c. I am informed it was the Speech of an honourable Knight of the Parliament: What, Christ persecuted in New England?

And I aske further, Whether (since Mr. Cotton elsewhere professeth to expect farre greater light then yet shines) upon the same grounds and practise, if Christ Jesus in any of his Servants shall be pleased to hold forth a further light, Christ Jesus himselfe shall finde the Mercy and Humanity of a civill and temporall life and being with them?

Mr. Cotton expecting more Light, must (according to his way of persecution) persecute Christ

Mr. Cotton. Though I have little hope (when I consider the uncircumcision of mine own lips) that you will hearken to

Iesus if he bring it.

my voice, who have not hearkned to the body of the whole Church of *Christ* with you, and the testimony and judgement of so many Elders and Brethren of other Churches! Yet I trust my labour will be accepted of the Lord, and who can tell but that he may bless it to you also, if (by his help) I endeavour to shew you the sandines of those grounds, out of which you have banished your self from the fellowship of all the Churches in these Countries.

*Will worship
varnished over
with the glit-
tering shew of
Humility.*

*Spiritual pride
may swell, out
of the sence of
a mans Hu-
mility.*

*Humility most
unseasonable
in setting up
will worship,
or persecuting
others.*

Ans. First I acknowledge it an holy Character of an heavenly Spirit, to make ingenuous true acknowledgement of an uncircumcised lip: yet that discerning Spirit, which God graciously vouchsafeth to them that tremble at his word, shall not only find that not only the willworships of men may be painted and varnished over with the glittering shew of humility, *Coloss. 2.* but also Gods dearest servants (eminent for humility and meeknes) may yet be troubled with a swelling of spirituall pride out of the very sence of their humility: It pleased God to give *Paul* himselfe preventing physick against this distemper, in the midst of Gods gracious revelation to him. And what an humble argument doth *David* use, when himself advised by *Nathan*, went about an evill work out of an holy intention, to wit, a work of willworship, in building the Temple unbidden? *Behold I dwell in an house of cedars, but the Arke of God in a tent, 2 Sam. 7.* Humility is never in season to set up superstition, or to persecute Gods children.

CHAP. II.

Secondly I observe his charge against me, for not hearkning to a twofold voice of *Christ*: first of the whole Church of *Christ* with me.

*Publike sins
the cause of
publike Cal-
amities, must be
faithfully dis-
covered by spi-
ritual watch-
men.*

Unto which I answered, according to my conscience and perswasion. I was then charged by Office with the feeding of that flock: and when in the apprehension of some publike evils, the whole Countrey protest to humble it selfe and seek God, I endeavoured (as a faithfull Watchman on the walls to sound the Trumpet and give the Alarum: and upon a Fast day, in faithfullnes and uprightness (as then and still I am perswaded) I discovered 11 publike sins, for which I beleaved (and doe) it pleased God to inflict, and further to threaten publike calamities. Most of which 11 (if not all) that Church then seemed to assent unto: untill afterward in my troubles the

the greater part of that Church, was swayed and bowed (whether for feare of perlecution or otherwise) to say and practise what to my knowledge, with signes and groans many of them mourned under.

I know the Church of *Colosse* must say to *Archippus*, Take heed to thy Ministry, &c. which he may negligently and proudly refuse to hearken to: But let my case be considered, and the word of the Lord examined, and the difference of my case will shine forth, and my faithfullnes and uprightnes to God and the soules of that people will witnesse for me, when my soule comes to *Hezechiabs* case on his death bed, and in that great day approaching.

For my not hearkning to the second voice, the testimony of so many Elders and Brethren of other Churches (because I truly esteem and honour the persons of which the New-English Churches are constituted.) I will not answer the argument of numbers and multitudes against One, as we use to answer the Popish universalitie that God sometimes stirs up one *Elijah* against 800. of *Baals* Priests, one *Micaiah* against 400. of *Ahabs* Prophets; one *Athanasius* against many hundred of *Arrian* Bishops; one *John Hus* against the whole Council of *Constance*; *Luther* and the 3 Witnesses against many thousands &c. Yet this I may truly say, that *David* himself and the Princes of *Israel* and 30 thousand *Israel*, carrying up the Arke, were not to be hearkned to nor followed in their (as I may say) holy rejoycings and Triumphings, the due Order of the Lord. yet being wanting to their holy intentions and affections, and the Lord at last sending in a sad stop and breach of *Vzzah*, amongst them (*Perez Vzzah*) as he hath ever yet done, and will doe in all the Reformations that have been hitherto made by his *David*s, which are not after the due Order. To which purpose, it is maintained by the Papists themselves, and by their Councils that Scripture only must be heard: yea one Scripture in the mouth of one simple Me-
channick before the whole Council. By that only do I desire to stand or fall in triall or judgement: For all flesh is grasse, and the beautie of flesh (the most wisest, holiest, learnedst) is but the flowre or beautie of grasse, only the word of *Jehovah* standeth fast for ever.

Coloss. 4.
Faithfullnes to
God and Man
(though for
present Censu-
red) will give
rejoycing in
day of Death
and judgement

The Popish ar-
gument from
Multitudes.

David and the
Princes and
30 thousand
of *Israel*, a type
of Gods best
servants refo-
rming, yet not
after the due
Order.

An excellent
confession of
the papists
concerning
Scripture.

CHAP. III.

Thirdly Mr. Cotton endeavoureth to discover the sandines of those grounds out of which (as he saith) I have banished my selfe; &c.

Good intentions and affections in Gods people, accepted with God, when their endeavours perish and burn like stubble, &c.

I answered, I question not his holy and loving intentions and affections, and that my grounds seem sandie to himselfe and others. Those intentions and affections may be accepted (as his persion) with the Lord, as *David* of his desires to build the Lord a Temple, though on sandy grounds. Yet Mr. Cottons endeavours to prove the firm rock of the truth of Jesus to be the weak and uncertain sand of mans invention those shall perish and burn like hay or stubble. The rockie strength of those grounds shall more appeare in the Lords season, and himself may yet confesse so much, as since he came into New

Many grounds seemed sandie to Mr. Cotton in Old England, which were he confessed to be rockie.

Mr. Cotton formerly perswaded to practise Common Prayer: but since hath writt'n against it.

England he hath confest the sandines of the grounds of many of his practises in which he walked in Old England, and the rockinesse of their grounds that witnessed against them and himself in those practises, though for that time their grounds seemed sandie to him.

When my selfe heretofore (through the mercy of the most high discovered to himself and other eminent servants of God, my grounds against their using of the Common Prayer; my grounds seemed sandie to them. which since in New England Mr. Cotton hath acknowledged rockie and hath seen cause so to publish to the world in his Discourse to Mr. Ball, against set Forms of Prayer.

But because the Reader may aske both Mr. Cotton and me, what were the grounds of such a sentence of Banishment against me, which are here called sandie, I shall relate in brieft what those grounds were. some whereof he is pleased to discusse in this Letter, and others of them not to mention.

After my publike triall and answers at the generall Court, one of the most eminent Magistrates (whose name and speech may by others be remembred) stood up and spake:

The 4 particular Grounds of my Sentence of Banishment.

Mr. Williams (said he) holds forth these 4 particulars: First, That we have not our Land by Pattent from the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it, and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by Pattent.

Secondly, That it is not lawfull to call a wicked person to Swear, to Pray, as being actions of Gods Worship.

Thirdly

Thirdly, That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in *England*.

Fourthly, That the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies and Goods, and outward state of men, &c.

I acknowledge the particulars were rightly summ'd up, and I also hope, that, as I then maintained the Rockie strength of them to my own, & other consciences satisfaction, so (through the Lords assistance) I shall be ready for the same grounds, not only to be bound and banished, but to die also, in *New England*, as for most holy Truths of God in Christ Jesus.

Yea but (saith hee) upon those grounds you banished your selfe from the society of the Churches in these countries.

I answer, if Mr. *Cotton* mean my owne voluntary withdrawing from those Churches resolved to continue in those evils, and persecuting the witnesses of the Lord presenting light unto them, I confesse it was mine owne voluntary act; yea, I hope the act of the Lord Jesus sounding forth in me (a poore despited Rams horn) the blast which shall in his owne holy fealon cast down the strength and confidence of those inventions of men in the worshipping of the true and living God. And lastly, his act in inabling me to be faithfull in any measure to suffer such great and mighty trials for his names sake. But if by banishing my selfe he intend the act of civill banishment from their common earth and aire, I then observe with griefe the language of the Dragon in a lambs lip. Among other expressions of the Dragon are not these common to the witnesses of the Lord Jesus rent and torne by his persecutions? Goe now, say you are persecuted, you are persecuted for Christ, suffer for your conscience: No, it is your schisme, heresie, obstinacie, the Divill hath deceived thee, thou hast justly brought this upon thee, thou hast banished thy selfe, &c. Instances are abundant in so many bookes of Martyrs, and the experience of all men, and therefore I spare to recite in so short a treatise.

*Christ Iesus
speaketh and
suffereth in
his witnesses.*

*The Dragons
language in a
Lambs lip.*

*Gods children
persecuted are
charged by
their enemies
to be the authors
of their
own persecu-
tion.*

Secondly, if he mean this civill act of banishing, why should he call a civill sentence from the civill State, within a few weeks execution in so sharp a time of *New England*s cold. Why should he call this a banishment from the Churches, except he silently confesse, that the frame or constitution of their Churches is but implicitly National (which yet they profess against)

*A Nationall
Church the
silent Com-
mon Reale, or
world, &c.*

lently, *confest* against) for otherwise why was I not yet permitted to live in
by Mr. Cotton the world, or Common-weale, except for this reason, that the
 to be all one. Common weale and Church is yet but one, and hee that is
 banished from the one, must necessarily bee banished from the
 other also.

CHAP. IV.

Mr. Cotton. Let not any prejudice against my person, I be-
 seech you, forestall either your affection or judgement, as if I
 had hasted forward the sentence of your civill banishment;
 for what was done by the Magistrates in that kind, was neither
 done by my counsell nor content.

*Persecutors of
 mens boies
 seldome or
 never do th se
 mens soules
 good.*

*An excellent
 observation
 of a worthy
 Parliament
 man.*

Answe. Although I desire to heare the voyce of God from a
 stranger, an equall, an interiour, yea an enemy; yet I observe
 how this excellent man cannot but confesse how hard it is
 for any man to doe good to speake effectually to the soule or
 conscience of any whose body he afflicts and persecutes, and
 that onely for their soule and conscience sake. Hence excel-
 lent was the observation of a worthy Gentleman in the Par-
 liament against the Bishops, viz. That the Bishops were farre
 from the practice of the Lord Jesus, who together with his
 word preached to the soules of men, shewed their bodies so
 much mercie and loving kindnesse: whereas the Bishops on
 the contrary persecute, &c.

*Gods children
 are not so free
 in persecuting
 Gods children,
 as persecutor
 whose profes-
 sed nature &
 trade it is.*

Now to the ground from whence my prejudice might arise,
 he professeth my banishment proceeded not with his counsell
 or consent. I answer, I doubt not but that what *Mr. Cotton*
 and others did in procuring my sorrowes, was not without
 some regret and reluctancie of conscience and affection (as
 like it is that *David* could not procure *Uriahs* death, nor *Asa*
 imprison the Prophet with a quiet and free conscience.) Yet
 to the particular that *Mr. Cotton* consented not, what need he
 being not one of the civill Court? But that hee counselled it
 (and so consented,) beside what other prooffe I might pro-
 duce, and what himselfe here under expresseth, I shall pro-
 duce a double and unanswerable testimony.

*Mr. Cotton by
 teaching
 persecution
 cannot but
 consent to it,
 &c.*

First, hee publickly taught, and teacheth (except lately
 Christ Jesus hath taught him better) that body-killing, soule-
 killing, and State-killing doctrine of not permitting, but per-
 secuting all other consciences and wayes of worship but his
 own in the civill State, and so consequently in the whole
 world,

world, if the power or Empire thereof were in his hand.

Secondly, as at that sentence divers worthy Gentlemen durst not concur with the rest in such a course, so some that did consent, have solemnly testified, and with teares since to my selfe confessed, that they could not in their soules have been brought to have consented to the sentence, had not Mr. Cotton in private given them advice and counsell, proving it just and warrantable to their consciences.

Mr. Cotton privately satisfied the consciences of some that questioned, whether per-

I desire to bee as charitable as charity would have me, and therefore would hope that either his memory taile him, or that else he meant that in the very time of sentence passing he neither counselled nor consented (as hee hath since said, that he withdrew himselfe and went out from the rest) probably out of that reluctance which before I mentioned; and yet if so, I cannot reconcile his owne expression: for thus hee goes on.

CHAP. V.

Mr. Cotton. Although I dare not deny the sentence passed to be righteous in the eyes of God, who hath said, that *he that withholdeth the corne* (which is the staffe of life) *from the people, the multitude shall curse him*, Prov. 11. 26. how much more shall they separate such from them, as doe withhold and sepearate them from the ordinances, or the ordinances from them (which are in Christ the bread of life.)

Ans. I desire to informe the Reader why it pleaseth Mr. Cotton to produce this Scripture. One of our Disputes was concerning the true Ministry appointed by the Lord Jesus. Another was concerning the fitnessse and qualification of such persons as have right (according to the rules of the Gospel) to choote and enjoy such a true Ministry of the Lord Jesus. Hence because I professed, and doe, against the office of any ministry but such as the Lord Jesus appointeth, this Scripture is produced against me.

The Scripture produced by Mr. Cotton to prove my banishment lawfull, dis-

Secondly, let this be observed for satisfaction to many, who enquire into the cause of my sufferings, that it pleaseth Mr. Cotton onely to produce this Scripture for justifying the sentence as righteous in the eyes of God, implying what our chief difference was, and consequently what it was for which I chiefly suffered, to wit, concerning the true Ministry of Christ Jesus. But to the Scripture, let the people curse such

Mr. Cotton satisfies all men concerning the chief cause of my banishment.

The word of
the Lord is
the seeds corn,
yet must it be
dispensed ac-
cording to the
word of the
Lord.

To some parts
the Apostles
were forbid-
den to preach,
and from o-
thers to de-
part shaking
off the dust,
&c.

All the Lords
corn must be
sold according
to the Lords
ordinance.

Mr. Cotton
himself choo-
sing rather to
sell no spiri-
tuall corn,
then to yeeld
to some cere-
monies

as hoord up corporall or spirituall corn; and let those be blef-
ted that sell it: will it therefore follow, that either the one or
the other may lawfully bee sold or bought but with the good
will, consent and authority of the true owner?

Doth not even the common civill Market abhorre and
curse that man, who carries to market and throws about good
corn against the owners mind and expresse command, who yet
is willing and desirous it should bee sold plenteously, if with
his consent, according to his order, and to his honest and rea-
sonable advantage? This is the case of the true and false Mi-
nistry. Far bee it from my soules thought to stop the sweet
streams of the water of life, from flowing to refresh the thir-
sty, or the bread of life from feeding hungry soules: And yet
I would not, and the Lord Iesus would not that one drop
or one crum, or grain should be unlawfully, disorderly, or
prodigally disposed of: for, from the scorers, contradic-
ters, despisers, persecuters, &c. the Apostles messengers of the Lord
Iesus, were to turne and to shake off the dust of their feet: yea,
it pleased the Spirit of the Lord to forbid the Apostles to
preach at all to some places, at some times: so that the whole
dispose of this spirituall corn, for the persons selling, their
qualifications, commissions or callings, the quantities and
qualities of the corne, the price for which, the persons to
whom, the place where, and time when the great Lord of the
harvest must expresse his holy will and pleasure, which must
humbly and faithfully be attended on.

In which regard Mr. Cotton deals most partially: for would
Mr. Cotton himself have preached in Old, or will hee in New
England with submission but to some few ceremonies, as the
selling of this spirituall corn in a white Coat, a Surplice?
Did hee not rather choose (which I mention to the Lords
and Mr. Cottons honour) to have shut up his licks mouth, to
have been silenced (as they call it) and imprisoned, then to
sell that heavenly corn otherwise then as he was perswaded the
Lord appointed? yea hath hee not in New England refused to
admit the children of godly parents to baptism, or the parents
themselves unto the fellowship of the Supper, untill they
came into that order which he conceived was the Order of
the Lords appointing?

Againe (to descend to humane courses) doe not all civill
men

men throughout the world, forbid all building, planting, merchandizing, marrying, execution of Justice; yea, all actions of peace or warre, but by a true and right Commission, and in a right Order? Is it not, in this pretent storm of Englands sorrows, one of the greatest Quarries in all the Kingdom, who are the true Officers, true Commanders, true Justices, true Commissioners; which is the true Seale? And doubtles as Truth is but One, so but the one sort is True, and ought to be submitted to, and the contrary resisted; although it should be granted that the Officers questioned and their actions were noble, excellent and beyond exception.

In civil things nothing lawfull but what is according to law and order. In England now not persons fit, but also truly authorized, are true officers.

I judge it not here reasonable to entertaine the dispute of the true power and call of Christs Ministerie: I shall only adde a word to this Scripture, as it is brought to prove a righteous sentence of Banishment on my selfe or any that plead against a false office of Ministerie. 'Tis true in the Nationall Church of Israel (the then only Church and Nation of God) he that did ought presumptuously was to be accursed and to be put to death, *Levit. 15.* a figure of the spirituall putting to death an obstinate sinner in the Church of Christ, who refusing to heare the voice of Christ, is to be cut off from Christ and Christians, and to be esteemed as an Heathen, that is, a Gentile or Publican *Matth. 18.* Hence consequently the not selling, or the withholding of Corne presumptuously was Death in Israel: But Mr. Cotton cannot prove that every willfull withholding of Corne, in all or any State in the world, and that in time of plenty is death: for as for Banishment we never heare of any such course in Israel. And secondly, least of all can he prove, that in all civill States of the world, that man that pleadeth against a false Ministerie, or that being able to preach Christ, and doubting of the true way of the Ministerie since the Apostacie of Antichrist dares not practise a Ministerie. Or that many excellent and worthy Gentlemen, Lawyers, Physitians and others (as well gifted in the knowledge of the Scripture, and furnished with the giftes of tongues and utterance, as most that professe the Ministerie, and yet are not perswaded to sell spirituall corne, as questioning their true Calling and Commission. I say, Mr. Cotton doth not, nor will he ever prove that these or any of these ought to be put to Death, or Banishment in every Land or Countrey. The selling

The curse of death in Israel of old, is spirituall death, and spirituall cutting off in the Church of Christ, and Christian Israel now.

Such as are excellently fitted to sell the spiritual corne of the word of the Lord, and yet find not their call to the ministry, are not to be put to death or banished.

to
 Spirituall of-
 fences are only
 liable to a
 spirituall cen-
 sure.

Paul not to be
 banished or
 kild by Nero
 for not pre-
 ching the
 Gospel.

ling or withholding of spirituall corne, are both of a spirituall nature, and therefore must necessarily in a true parallell beare relation to a spirituall curle. *Paul* wishing himselte accurted from *Christ* for his Countrey mens sake (*Rom. 9.*) he spake not of any temporall death or banishment. Yet neerer, being fitly qualified and truly called by *Christ* to the Ministerie, he cries out (*1 Cor. 9.*) *Woe to me if I preach not the Gospel:* yet did not *Paul* intend, that therefore the Roman *Nero*, or any subordinate power under him in *Corinth*, should have either banished or put *Paul* to death, having committed nothing against the civill State worthy of such a civill punishment: yea and *Mr. Cotton* himselte seemeth to question the standines of such a ground to warrant such proceedings, for thus he goes on.

CHAP. VI.

Mr. Cotton. And yet it may be they passed that sentence against you, not upon that ground: but for ought I know, for your other corrupt Doctrines, which tend to the disturbance both of civill and holy peace, as may appeare by that answer which was sent to the Brethren of the Church of *Salem* and your selfe.

M. cotton
 himselte ig-
 norant of the
 cause of my
 sufferings.

> I answer, it is no wonder that so many having bin demanded the cause of my sufferings have answered, that they could not tell for what, since *Mr. Cotton* himselte knows not distinctly what cause to assigne: but saith, it may be they passed not that sentence on that ground, &c. Oh, where was the waking care of so excellent & worthy a man, to see his brother and beloved in *Christ* so afflicted, he knows not distinctly for what.

He alleadgeth a Scripture, to prove the Sentence righteous, and yet concludeth it may be it was not for that, but for other corrupt Doctrines which he nameth not, nor any Scripture to prove them corrupt, or the sentence righteous for that cause. O that it may please the Father of lights to awaken both himselte and other of my honoured Countreymen, to see how though their hearts wake (in respect of personall grace and life of *Jesus*) yet they sleep, insensible of much concerning the purity of the Lords worship, or the sorrows of such whom they stile Brethren, and beloved in *Christ*, afflicted by them!

But though he name not these corrupt Doctrines, a little before I have, as they were publikely summed up and charged upon me, and yet none of them tending to the breach of holy

or civill peace, of which I have ever desired to be unfainedly tender, acknowledging the Ordinance of Magistracie to be properly and adequately fitted by God, to prelerve the civill State in civill peace and order: as he hath also appointed a spirituall Government and Governours in matters pertaining to his worship and the consciences of men, both which Governments, Governours, Laws, Offences, Punishments, are Essentially distinct, and the confounding of them brings all the world into Combustion. He addes:

CHAP. VII.

Mr. Cotton. And to speake freely what I think, were my soule in your soules stead, I should think it a worke of mercy of God to Banish me from the civill locietie of such a Commonweale, where I could not enjoy holy fellowship with any Church of God amongst them without sin: What should the daughter of *Sion* do in *Babel*, why should she not hasten to flee from thence?

Ans. Love bids me hope that Mr. Cotton here intended me a Cordiall to revive me in my sorrows: yet if the ingredients be examined, there will appeare no lesse, then Dishonour to the name of God, Danger to every civill State, a miserable Comfort to my selfe, and contradiction within it selfe.

For the last first. If he call the Land *Babel* mystically (which he must needs doe or els speake not to the point, how can it be *Babel*, and yet the Church of Christ also? *A land cannot be Babel, and yet a Church of Christ.*

Secondly, it is a dangerous Doctrine to affirme it a misery to live in that State where a Christian cannot enjoy the fellowship of the publike Churches of God without sinne. Do we not know many famous states wherein is known no Church of Jesus Christ? Did not God command his people to pray for the peace of the materiall Citie of *Babel* (*Jer. 27.*) and to seek the peace of it though no Church of God in *Babel*, in the form and Order of it? Or did *Sodome*, *Egypt*, *Babel*, signifie materiall *Sodome*, *Egypt*, *Babel*, *Rev. 11. 8. & 18. 4?* *Famous civill States where yet no sound of Iesus Christ.*

There was a true Church of Jesus Christ in materiall *Babel*, (*1 Pet. 5. 13.*) Was it then a mercy for all the inhabitants of *Babel*, to have been banished, whom the Church of Jesus Christ durst not have received to holy fellowship? Or was it a mercy for any person to have been banished the City, and driven to the miseries of a barbarous wildernes, him and *Babylon.* *A true church of Iesus Christ in materiall*

*The mercy of
a civill State
distinct from
mercies of a
spirituall na-
ture.*

*Old and New
England for
the Countries
and civill go-
vernment in-
comparable.*

*Mr. Cotton
not having
felt the mis-
eries of others,
can bee no
equall judge
of them.*

his, if some barre had layn upon his conscience, that he could not have enjoyed fellowship with the true Church of Christ:

Thirdly, for my selfe, I acknowledge it a blessed gift of God to be unable to suffer, and so to be banished for his Names sake: and yet I doubt not to affirm, that Mr. Cotton himselfe would have counted it a mercy, if he might have practised in Old England what now he doth in New, with the enjoyment of the civill peace, safetie and protection of the State.

Or should he dissent from the New English Churches, and joyn in worship with some other (as some few yeares since he was upon the point to doe in a separation from the Churches there as legall) would he count it a mercy to be pluckt up by the roots, him and his, and to endure the losses, distractions, miseries that doe attend such a condition. The truth is, both the mother and the Daughter Old and New England, for the Countries and Governments are Lands and Governments incomparable: And might it please God to perswade the mother to permit the inhabitants of New England her daughter to enjoy their conscience to God, after a particular Congregationall way, and to perswade the daughter to permit the inhabitants of the mother Old England to walke there after their conscience of a Parishionall way, (which yet neither mother nor daughter is perswaded to permit.) I conceive Mr. Cotton himselfe, were he seated in Old England againe, would not count it a mercy to be banished from the civil state.

And therefore (lastly) as he casts dishonour upon the name of God, to make him the Author of such cruell mercy, so had his soule been in my soules case, exposed to the miseries, poverties, necessities, wants, debts, hardships of Sea and Land, in a banished condition: he would I presume, reach forth a more mercifull cordiall to the afflicted. But he that is despised and afflicted is like a lamp despised in the eyes of him that is at ease: *Iob.*

CHAP. VIII.

Mr. Cotton. Yea but he speaks not these things to adde affliction to the afflicted. but if it were the holy will of God to move me to a serious sight of my sinne, and of the justice of Gods hand against it: Against your corrupt Doctrines it pleased the Lord Jesus to fight against you with the sword of his

his mouth, as himselfe speaketh *Rev. 2.* in the mouthes and testimonies of the Churches & Brethren, against whom when you overhear your selfe in reasoning and disputing, against the light of his truth, it pleased him to stop your mouth by a sudden Discale, and to threaten to take breath from you: But you instead of recoiling (as even *Balaam* offered to doe in the like case) chose rather to persist in the way, and protest against all the Churches and brethren that stood in your way: and thus the good hand of Christ that should have humbled you to see and turn from the error of your way, hath rather hardened you therin, and quickned you only to see failings (yea intollerable errors) in all the Churches and brethren, rather then in your selfe.

Answer. In these lines, an humble and discerning spirit may espie: First a glorious justification and boasting of Himselfe and others concurring with him. Secondly, an unrighteous and uncharitable censure of the afflicted.

To the first I say no more, but let the light of the holy lant- *The lantorne*
horne of the word of God discover and try with whom the *of Gods word*
sword of Gods mouth (that is the testimony of the holy *must alone try*
Scripture, for Christ, against Antichrist) abideth. And whe- *who fights*
ther my self and such poore Witnesles of Jesus Christ in Old *with the*
and New England, Low-Countries, &c. desiring in meeknes *sword of Gods*
and patience to testifie the truth of Jesus, against all falsc cal- *mouth, the*
lings of Ministers, &c. Or Mr. Cotton (however in his person *same word of*
holy and beloved) swimming with the stream of outward *God.*
credit and profit, and smiting with the fist and sword of per- *Whether*
secution such as dare not joyn in worship with him; I say, *Mr. Cotton*
whether of either be the Witnesles of Christ Jesus, in whose *persecuting, or*
mouth is the sword of his mouth, the sword of the Spirit, the *the answerer*
holy word of God, and whether is most like to *Balaam*? *persecuted, bee*
likest to
Balaam.

To the second: his censure. It is true, it pleased God by ex- *The answer-*
cessiv labours on the Lords dayes, and thrice a week at Salem, *ers profession*
by labours day and night in my Field with my own hands, for *concerning his*
the maintenance of my charge; by travells also by day and *sicknes, which*
night to goe and return from their Court (and not by over- *Mr. Cotton*
heating in dispute, divers of themselves confessing publicly *upbraids to*
my moderation) it pleased God to bring me neare unto death, *him.*
in which time (notwithstanding the mediating testimony of
two skillfull in Physick) I was unmercifully driven from my
chamber

Scripture, hi-
story, experi-
ence can wit-
nes the cer-
sures upon
Gods servants
in their affli-
ctions.

chamber to a Winters flight. During my sicknes, I humbly appeale unto the Father of Spirits for witnes of the upright and constant diligent search my spirit made after him, in the examination of all passages, both my private disquisitions with all the chief of their Ministers, and publike agitations of points controverted: and what gracious fruit I reaped from that sicknes, I hope my soule shall never forget. However I mind not to number up a catalogue of the many censures upon Gods servants in the time of Gods chastisements and visitations on them, both in Scripture, History and experience. Nor retort the many evils which it pleased God to bring upon some chief procurers of my sorrows, nor upon the whole State immediatly after them, which many of their own have observed and reported to me: but I commit my cause to him that judgeth Righteously, and yet resolve to pray against their Evils, *Psal. 141.*

CHAP. IX.

Mr. Cotton. In which course though you say you doe not remember an houre, wherein the countenance of the Lord was darkned to you; yet be not deceived, it is no new thing with Sathan to transform himselfe into an Angel of light, and to cheare the soule with false peace, and with flashes of counterfeit consolation: Sad and wofull is the memorie of *Mr. Smiths* strong consolation on his death-bed, which is set as a seale to his grosse and damnable Arminianisme, and Enthusiasme delivered in the confession of his Faith, prefixed to the Storie of his life and death. *The countenance of God is upon his people when they feare him*, not when they presume of their own strength and his consolations are not found in the way of presidence and error, but in the wayes of humilitie and truth.

Ans. To that part which concerns my self, the speech hath reference either to the matter of justification, or else matter of my affliction for Christ, of both which I remember I have had discourse.

A soule at
peace with
God may yet
endure great
combats con-
cerning san-
ctification.

For the first I have exprest in some conference (as *Mr. Cotton* himselfe hath also related concerning some, with whom I am not worthy to be named) that after first manifestations of the countenance of God, reconciled in the blood of his Son unto my soule, my questions and trouble have not been concerning my reconciliation and peace with God, but concerning san-
ctification

ification and fellowship with the holines of God, in which respect I desire to cry (with *Paul*) in the bitternes of my spirit, *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!*

Secondly, it may have reference to some conference concerning affliction for his Names sake, in which respect I desire to acknowledge the faithfullnes of his word and promise, *to be with his in 6 troubles and in 7, through fire and water, making good 100 fold with persecution*, to such of his servants as suffer ought for his names sake: and I have said and must say, and all Gods witnesses that have borne any paine or losse for Jesus, must say, that fellowship with the Lord Jesus in his sufferings is sweeter then all the fellowship with sinners, in all the profits, honours, and pleasures of this present evill world. And yet 2 things I desire to speak to all men and my selfe, *Let every man prove his worke, Gal. 6. and then shall he have rejoycing in himselfe, and not in another.* Secondly, if any man love God, that soule knows God, or rather is known of God (*1 Cor. 8.*) *Selfe-love may burn the bodie, but happy only he whose love alone to Christ constrains him to be like unto him, and suffer with him.*

To that which concerneth Mr *Smith*, although I knew him not, and have heard of many points, in which my conscience tells me, it pleased the Lord to leave him to himselfe; yet I have also heard by some (whose testimonie Mr. *Cotton* will not easilie refuse) that he was a man fearing God: and I am sure Mr. *Cotton* hath made some use of those principles and arguments on which Mr. *Smith* and others went, concerning the constitution of the Christian Church. The infinite compassions of God, which lay no sin to *David's* charge but the sin of *Uriah*, *1 King. 15.* have graciously comforted the soules of his o 1 their death-bed, accepting and crowning their *uprightnes* and *faithfullnes*, and passing by what otherwise is grievous and offensive to him. And indeed from the due consideration of that instance, it appeares that no sin is comparably so grievous in Gods *David*, as a treacherous slaughter of the *faithfull*, whom we are forced to call *beloved in Christ*: That opinion in Mr. *Cotton* or any, is the most grievous to God or man, and not comparable to any that ever Mr. *Smith* could be charged with. It is true, the countenance and consolations of God are found

in

Mr. Smith
godly, and a
light to Mr.
Cotton and o-
thers, though
left to himself
in some
things.

Gods infinite
compassions
toward those
whose hearts
are upright
with him

The opinion
of putting *V-*
riah to death,
the vilest of
all opinions.

As the weights of the Sanctuary were double, so must there bee double pondering in all the affairs of Gods worship.

in the wayes of humilitie and truth, and Sathan transformeth him like to an Angel of light in a counterfeit of both: In which respect I desire *to worke our salvation with feare and trembling*, and to doe nothing in the affaires of God and his Worship, but (like the weights of the Sanctuarie) with *double care, diligence and consideration*, above all the affaires of this vanishing life. And yet *Christs consolations* are so sweet, that the soule that tasteth them in truth, in suffering for any truth of his, will not easily part with them, though thousands are deceiv'd and deluded with counterfeits.

CHAP. X.

Mr. Cotton. Two stumbling blocks (I perceive) have turned you off from Fellowship with us. First the want of fit matter of our Church. Secondly, disrespect of the Separate Churches in England under affliction, our selves practising Separation in peace.

For the first, you acknowledge, as you say, with joy, that godly persons are the visible members of these Churches, but yet you see not that godly persons are matter fitted to constitute a Church, no more then Trees or Quarries are fit matter proportioned to the building. This exception seemeth to me to imply a contradiction to it selfe, for if the matter of the Churches be as you say godly persons, they are not then as Trees unfeld, and Stones unhewn: godlinesse cutteth men downe from the former root and heweth them out of the pit of corrupt nature, and fitteth them for fellowship with Christ, and with his people.

You object, first, *a necessity lying upon godly men before they can be fit matter for Church fellowship, to see, bewaile, repent, and come out of the false churches, worship, ministry, government, according to Scriptures Isa. 62. 11. 2 Cor. 6. 17. and this is to be done not by a locall removall or contrary practise, but by a deliverance of the soule, understanding, will, judgement and affection.*

Ans. First we grant that it is not locall removall from former pollution, nor contrary practise, that fitteth us for fellowship with Christ and his Church, but thas it is necessary also that we repent of such former pollutions wherewith we have been defiled and inthrall'd.

We grant further, that it is likewise necessary to Church-fellowship, we should see and discerne all such pollutions, as do

to farre intrhall us to Antichrist as to separate us from Christ: But this we professe unto you, that wherein we have reformed our practice, therein have we endeavoured unfeignedly to humble our soules for our former contrary walking: if any through hypocrisie are wanting herein, the hidden hypocrisie of some will not prejudice the sinceritie and faithfullnesse of others, nor the Church estate of all.

Ans. That which requireth Answer in this passage, is a charge of a seeming contradiction, to wit, *That persons may be godly, and yet not fitted for Church estate, but remaine as Trees and Quarries unfeld, &c.* Contrary to which it is affirmed, *that godly persons cannot be so intrahled to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ.*

For the clearing of which let the word of Truth be rightly divided, and a right distinction of things applyed, there will appeare nothing contradictorie, but cleare and satisfactorie to each mans conscience.

First then I distinguish of a godly person thus: In some acts of sin which a godly person may fall into, during those acts, although before the allsearching and tender eye of God, and also in the eyes of such as are godly, such a person remaineth still godly, yet to the eye of the world externally such a person seemeth ungodly, and a sinner. Thus *Noah* in his Drunkennesse; thus *Abraham, Lot, Samson, Job, David, Peter*, in their lying whoredomes, cursings, Murther, denying and forswearing of Christ Jesus, although they lost not their inward sap and root of life, yet suffred they a decay and fall of lease, and the shew of bad and evill Trees. In such a case Mr. Cotton will not deny that a godly person falling into drunkennes whoredome, deliberate murther, denying and forswearing of Christ, the Church of Christ cannot receive such persons into Church-fellowship, before their sight of humble bewailing and confessing of such evils, notwithstanding that love may conceive there is a root of godlines within.

The state of godly persons in grosse sins.

Godly persons falling into grosse sins, are to expresse repentance before they can be admitted to the church.

Secondly Gods children (*1 Cor. 5.*) notwithstanding a principle of spirituall life in their soules, yet are lul'd into a long continued sleep in the matters of Gods worship: *I sleep, though my heart waketh.* The heart is awake in spirituall life and grace, as concerning personall union to the Lord Jesus, and conscio-

Gods children long asleep in respect of Gods worship, though alive in the grace of Christ.

ced : yet asleep in respect of abundant ignorance and negligence, and consequently grosse abominations and pollutions of Worship, in which the choicest servants of God, and most faithfull Witnesses of many truths have lived in more or lesse, yea in maine and fundamentall points, ever since the Apostacie.

Mr. Cotton
now professes
to practise
what thou-
sands of Gods
people for ma-
ny ages have
not seen.

Not to instance in all, but in some particulars which Mr. Cotton hath in new England reformed. I earnestly beteech himself & all, wel to ponder how far he himself now professeth to see, and practice, that which so many thousands of godly persons of high note in all ages (since the Apostacie) saw not : As First concerning the nature of a particular Church, to consist only of holy and godly persons.

Secondly, of a true Ministrie called by that Church.

Thirdly, a true Worship free from Ceremonies, Common-Prayer, &c.

Fourthly, a true Government in the hands only of such Governours and Elders, as are appointed by the Lord Jesus. Hence Gods people not seeing their Captivitie in these points, must first necessarily be inlightned and called out from such Captivitie, before they can be nextly fitted and prepared for the true Church, Worship, Ministrie &c.

CHAP. XI.

The Jewes of
old in the type
could not
build the Al-
tar and Tem-
ple in Babel,
but first they
must come
forth, & then
build at Ieru-
salem.
Gods mystical
Israel in the
Antitype must
also come
forth of Babel
before they
can build the
Temple at Ie-
rusalem.

Secondly, this will be more cleare if wee consider Gods people and Church of old the Jewes, captivated in materiall Babel, they could not possibly build Gods Altar and Temple at Jerusalem, untill the yoke and bonds of their captivity were broke, and they set free to return with the vessels of the Lords house, to set up his worship in Jerusalem, as we see in the Bookes of Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Haggai, &c. Hence in the Antitype, Gods people the spirituall and mysticall Jewes, cannot possibly erect the Altar of the Lords true worship, and build the Temple of his true Church, without a true sight of their spirituall bondage in respect of Gods worship, and a power and strength from Jesus Christ to bring them out, and carry them through all difficulties in so mighty a work. And as the being of Gods people in materiall Babell, and a necessity of their comming forth before they could build the Temple, did not in the least deny them to be Gods people : no more now doth Gods people being in mysticall Babel (Rev. 18)

nor

nor the necessity of their coming forth, hinder or deny the godlinesse of their persons, or spirituall life within them.

Thirdly, how many famous servants of God, and witnesses of Jesus lived and died and were burnt for other truths of Jesus, not seeing the evil of their Antichristian calling of Bishops, &c. How did famous *Luther* himself continue a Monk, yet forth the German Masse, acknowledge the Pope, and held other grosse abominations concerning Gods worship, notwithstanding the life of Christ Jesus in him, and wrought in thousands by his means.

Luther and other famous witnesses very grosse concerning Gods worship, though eminent for personal grace.

Fourthly, Mr *Cotton* must be requested to remember his own practice (as before) how doth he refuse to receive persons eminent for personal grace and godlinesse, to the Lords Supper, & other priviledges of Christians (according to the profession of their Church-estate) until they be convinced of the necessity of making & entering into a Church covenant with them, with a confession of faith, &c. and if any cannot be periwaded of such a covenant and confession (notwithstanding their godlinesse, yet) are they not admitted.

Mr. Cotton refuseth godly persons except they bee convinced of their Church Covenant.

Lastly, how famous is that passage of that solempne question put to Mr. *Cotton* and the rest of the new English Elders, by divers of the ministers of old England (eminent for personal godlinesse, as Mr. *Cotton* acknowledgeth) viz. Whether they might be permitted in new England to enjoy their consciences in a Church estate different from the New English: unto which Mr. *Cotton* and the New English Elders returne a plain negative, in effect thus much, with the acknowledgment of their worth and godlinesse above their owne and their hopes of agreement; Yet in conclusion if they agree not, (which they are not like to doe) and submit to that way of Church-fellowship and Worship which in New England is set up, they cannot only not enjoy Church-fellowship together, but not permit them to live and breath in the same Aire and Communion-weale together, which was my case: although it pleased Mr. *Cotton* and others most incensed, to give my selfe a testimony of godlinesse, &c. And this is the reason, why although I confesse with joy the care of the New English Churches, that no person be received to Fellowship with them, in whom they cannot first discern true Regeneration, and the life of Jesus: yet I said and still affirm, that godlie and regenerate persons

Mr. Cotton & the English Elders refuse to permit eminent Ministers & people of Old England to live in New England (notwithstanding bee confesseth their godlinesse above his own) if they join not in his Church-fellowship.

*Godly persons
living trees &
living stones,
yet need much
hewing and
cutting to
bring them
from false to
true worship.*

*The coming
forth of false
worship a se-
cond kind (as
it were) of
regeneration
to Gods people*

*Return from
the land of
the North.*

*Christ con-
sidered two
wayes, first,
personally, &
so Gods people
can never bee
separated
from him.*

(according to all the former instances and reasons) are not fitted to constitute the true Christian Church, untill it hath pleased God to convince their soules of the evill of the false Church, Ministry, Worship, &c. And although I confesse that godly persons are not dead but living Trees, not dead, but living Stones, and need no new Regeneration (and so in that respect need no felling nor digging out) yet need they a mighty worke of Gods Spirit to humble and ashamethem, and to cause them to loath themselves for their Abominations or stincks in Gods nostrils (as it pleaseth Gods Spirit to speak of false Worship:) Hence *Ezek. 43. 11.* Gods people are not fit for Gods Houle, untill holy shame be wrought in them, for what they have done. Hence God promisseth to cause them to *loath themselves*, because they have broken him with their whorish hearts, *Ezek. 6. 9.* And hence it is that I have known some precious godly hearts confesse, that the plucking of their soules out from the Abominations of false worship, hath been a second kind of Regeneration. Hence was it that it pleased God to say concerning his peoples returne from their Materiall Captivitie (a figure of our Spirituall and mysticall) *that they should not say Jehovah liveth, who brought them from the land of Egypt* (a type of first conversion as is conceived) *but Jehovah liveth who brings them from the land of the North* (a type of Gods peoples return from spirituall bondage to confused and invented Worship.)

CHAP. XII.

Now whereas Mr. Cotton addeth, That godly persons are not so inthrall'd to Antichrist as to separate them from Christ; else they could not be godly persons.

I answer, this comes not neare our Question, which is not concerning personal godlines or grace of Christ. but the godlines or Christianitie of Worship. Hence the Scripture holds forth Christ Jesus first personally, as that God-Man, that One Mediatour between God and man, the *Man* Christ Jesus, whom all Gods people by Faith receive, and in receiving become the Sons of God, *Iohn 1. 12.* although they yet see not the particular wayes of his Worship. Thus was it with the Centurion the Woman of *Canaan*, *Cornelius*, and most, at their first conversion.

Secondly, the Scripture holdeth forth Christ as Head of his Church,

Church formed into a Body of worshippers, in which respect *Secondly, as the Church is called Christ, 1 Cor 12. 12. and the description of Christ is admirably set forth in 10 severall parts of a mans bodie, fitting and tunting to the visible profession of Christ in the Church Cant. 5.* *Secondly, as head of his Church, and so he is often lost and absent from his Spouse.*

Now in the former respect Antichrist can never so inthral Gods people as to separate them from Christ, that is, from the life and grace of Christ, although he inthrall them into never to grosse Abominations concerning Worship: for God will not loose His in *Egypt, Soudome, Babel.* His Jewels are most precious to him though in a Babilonish dunghill, and his Lillie sweet and lovely in the Wildernes commixt with Briars. Yet in the second respect, as Christ is taken for the church. I conceive that Antichrist may separate Gods people from Christ, that is from Christs true visible Church and Worship. This Mr. Cotton himselte will not deny it he remember how little a while it is since the falshood of a National, Provincial, Diocesan and Parishionall Church, &c. and the truth of a particular Congregation, consisting only of holy persons appeared unto him. *Gods people cannot serve a false Christ and the true together.*

The Papists Question to the Protestant viz. *Where was your Church before Luther?* is thus well answered to wit, That since the Apostacie, Truth, and the *holy city* (according to the Prophecie Revel. 11 & 13.) have been troden under foot, and the *whole earth* hath wondred after the Beast: yet God hath stir'd up Witnesses to Prophecie in Sackcloth against the Beast, during his *42 months teigne*: yet those Witnesses have in their Times, more or lesse submitted to Antichrist and his Church, Worship, Ministrie, &c. and so consequently have been ignorant of the true Christ, that is, Christ taken for the Church in the true profession of that holy Way of Worship, which he himselte at first appointed. *The Church before Luther, Revel. 13.*

CHAP. XIII.

Mr. Cotton. Secondly, we deny that it is necessary to Church fellowship (that is so necessary that without it a Church cannot be) that the Members admitted thereunto should all of them see and expressly bewaile all the Pollutions which they have been defiled with in the former Church-fellowship. Ministry, Worship, Government, &c. if they see and bewaile so much of their former pollutions, as did inthrall them to Antichrist,

richrist, so as to separate them from Christ, and be readie in preparation of heart, as they shall see more Light, so to hate more and more every false way; we conceive it is as much as is necessarily required to separate them from Antichrist, and to fellowship with Christ and his Churches. The Church of Christ admitted many thousand Jewes that beleaved on the name of Christ, although they were still zealous of the Law, and saw not the beggarly emptines of *Moses* his ceremonies, *Acts 21. 20.* and the Apostle *Paul* directeth the Romans to receive such *unto them as are weak in the faith*, and see not their libertie from the servile difference of Meats and Dayes, but still lie under the bondage of the Law; yea he wisheth them to receive such upon this ground, *because Christ hath received them, Rom. 14.* to the sixt.

Say not there is not the like danger of lying under bondage to *Moses* as to Antichrist, for even the bondage under *Moses* was such, as if continued in after instruction and conviction, would separate them from Christ, *Gal. 5. 2.* and bondage under Antichrist could doe no more.

Ans. Here I desire 3. things may be observed:

*Mr. Cotton
confessing the
true and false
constitution
of the church.*

First *Mr. Cottons* own confession of that two-fold Church estate, worship, &c. the former false, or else why to be so bewailed and forsaken; the second true, to be imbraced and submitted to.

*Mr. Cotton
confessing to
hold what hee
censureth in
the answer.*

Secondly, his own confession of that which a little before he would make so odious in me to hold, *viz.* that Gods people may be so farre intralld to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ: for saith he. If they see and bewaile so much of their former pollutions, as did intrall them to Antichrist, so as to separate them from Christ.

*Fallacie in
Mr. Cottons
generals.*

Thirdly I observe how easilie a soule may wander in his generalls, for thus he writes, Though they see not *all the pollutions* wherewith they have been defiled in the former Church-fellowship. Again, if they see so much as did intrall them to Antichrist, and separate them from Christ. And yet he expresseth nothing of that *all the pollutions*, nor what *so much* as will separate them from Christ. Hence upon that former distinction that Christ in visible Worship is Christ: I demand, Whether if a godly person remaine a member of a falsely constituted Church, and so consequently (in that respect)

*A godly person
remaining
a member of a
false Church,
is therein a
member of a
false Christ.*

spect) of a false Christ, whether in visible worship, he be not separate from the true Christ?

Separation from false Christ absolutely necessary before there can be union to the true.

Secondly, I aske, Whether it be not absolutely necessary to his uniting with the true Church, that is, with Christ in true Christian Worship, that he see and bewaile, and absolutely come out from that former false Church or Christ, and his Ministrie, Worship, &c. before he can be united to the true Israel, must come forth of Egypt before they can sacrifice to God in the Wildernes. The Jewes come out of Babel before they build the Temple in *Jerusalem*: The husband of a woman die, or she be legally divorced, before she can lawfully be married to another; the graft cut off from one, before it can be ingrafted into another stock: The Kingdome of Christ, (that is the Kingdome of the Saints, *Dan. 2. & 7.*) is cut out of the mountain of the Romane Monarchie. Thus the Corinthians *1 Cor. 6. 9, 10, 11.* uniting with Christ Jesus, they were washed from their Idolatrie, as well as other sins: Thus the Thessalonians turned from their Idols before they could serve the living and true God, *1 Thess. 1. 9.* and as in Paganisme, so in Antichristianisme, which separates as certainly (though more subtly) from Christ Jesu.

A sequestration or separation of the soul from the world in the idolatrous and invented worshipps of it before it can be presented to Christ Iesus, as a chaste virgin into the chaste bed of his owne most holy institutions.

CHAP. XIV.

Yea but it is said, that Jewes weake in Christian liberties, and zealous for *Moses* Law they were to be received.

I answer, 2 things must here carefully be minded:

Difference between Gods owne holy institutions to the Jewes, and Satans Paganish or Antichristian institution to the Gentiles, as concerning the manner of comming forth of them.

First although bondage to *Moses* would separate from Christ, yet the difference must be observed between those Ordinances of *Moses* which it pleased God himselfe to ordain and appoint, as his then only Worship in the world, though now in the comming of his Son, he was pleased to take away, yet with solemnitie; and on the other side, the Institutions and Ordinances of Antichrist, which the Devill himselfe invented, were from first to last never to be received and submitted to one moment, nor with such solemnitie to be laid down, but to be abhor'd and abominated for ever.

The Nationall Church of the Jewes, with all the shadowish typicall Ordinances of Kings, Priests, Prophets, Temple, Sacrifices were as a silver candlestick, on which the light of the Knowledge of God and of the Lord Jesus in the type and shadow was set up and shined. That Silver Candlestick it pleased

A comparison between the Jewish and Christian ordinances.

sed the most holy and only wise to take away, and in stead therof to set up the Golden Candlesticks of particular Churches (*Revel. 1.*) by the hand of the Son of God himselſe: Now the first was *silver* (the pure will and mind of God, but intended only for a season:) the second of a more *precious* *lasting* nature, *a Kingdom not to be shaken* (that is abolished as the former) *Heb. 12. 28.*

Moses ordinances at one time pretious and holy, at another time beggarly and deadly.

The first Christians communicated in the Jewish Synagogues untill the Jews contradicted & spoke evil, &c. then they separated.

A member of a true Church falling into any idolatrous practice, not presently to be excommunicated.

Therefore Secondly, observe the difference of Time (which Mr. Cotton himselſe confesseth) after Instruction and Conviction (saith he) *Moses* Law was deadly and would separate from Christ, therefore, there was a time when they were not deadly, and did not separate from Christ, to wit untill *Moses* was honourably fallen asleep, and lamented for (as I conceive) in the type and figure 30. dayes (*Deut. 34.*) Therefore at one season (not for *Timothies* weake conscience, but for the Jews sake) *Paul* circumcised *Timothy*: at another time when the Jews had sufficient instruction, and obstinately would be circumcised, and that necessarily to salvation, *Paul* reasonably cries out, that if they were circumcised Christ should profit them nothing, *Gal. 5.* Hence the Christians at *Ephesus* conversed with the Jewish Synagogue, untill the Jews contradicted and blasphemed, and then were speedily separate by *Paul*, *Acts 19.* But to apply *Paul* observed a Vow, and the ceremonies of it, circumcised *Timothy*, &c. may therefore a messenger of Christ now (as *Paul*) goe to Masse, pray to Saints, perform penance, keep christmas and other Popish Feasts and Fasts, &c.

Againe, is there such a time allowed to any man, uniting or adding himselſe to the true Church now, to observe the unholy holy dayes of Feasting and Fasting invented by Antichrist? yea and (as *Paul* did circumcision) to practise the Popish Sacraments? I doubt not, but if any member of a true Church or assembly of Worshipers, shall fall to any Paganish or Popish practise, he must be instructed and convinced, before Excommunication: but the Question is, Whether still observing and so practising, a person may be received to the true Christian Church, as the Jewes were, although they yet practised *Moses* ceremonies.

These things duly pondred (in the feare and presence of God) it will appeare how vain the allegation is, from that tender and honourable respect to Gods Ordinances now vanishing

shing from the Jewes, and their weake consciences about the same, to prove the same tendernes to Sathans inventions, and the consciences of men in the renouncing of Paganicall, Turkish, Antichristian; yea and I adde Judaical Worships now, when once the time of their full vanishing was come.

To conclude, although I precribe not such a measure of sight of, or sorrow for Antichristian Abominations (I speake in respect of degrees, which it pleaseth the Father of Lights to dispence variously to one more, to another lesse) yet I beleieve it absolutely necessary to see and bewaile to much as may amount to cut off the soule from the false Church (whether National, Parishional or any other falsly constituted Church) Ministrie, Worship and Government of it.

CHAP. XV.

Mr. Cotton. Anf. 3. To places of Scripture which you object, *Isa. 52.11. 2 Cor. 6.17. Revel. 18.4.* We answered, two of them makes nothing to your purpose: for that of *Isaiah*, and the other of the *Revelation*, I speak of locall separation, which your selfe know we have made, and yet you say, you doe not apprehend that to be sufficient. As for that place of the *Corinths*, it only requireth comming out from Idolaters in the Fellowship of their Idolatry. No mariages were they to make with them, no Feasts were they to hold with them in the Idolls Temple; no intimate familiaritie were they to maintaine with them, nor any Fellowship were they to keep with them in the unfruitfull works of darknes, and this is all which that place requireth. But what makes all this to prove, that we may not receive such persons to Church fellowship, as your selfe confesse to be godly, and who doe professedly renounce and bewail all known sin and would renounce more if they knew more, although it may be they do not see the utmost skirts of all that pollution they have sometimes been defiled with; as the Patriarchs saw not the pollution of their Poligamie: But that you may plainly see this place is wrested beside the Apostles scope, when you argue from it, that such persons are not fit matter for Church fellowship, as are defiled with any remnants of Antichristian pollution, nor such Churches any more to be accounted Churches, as do receive such amongst them. Consider I pray you, were there not at that time in the Church of Corinth, such as partook with the

Idolaters in the Idolls temple? And was not this the touching of an uncleane thing? And did this sin reject these members from Church fellowship before conviction? Or did it evacuate their Church estate for not casting out such members?

Ans. The Scriptures or writings of truth are those heavenly righteous scales, wherein all our contraverfies muſt be tried, and that bleſſed Starre that leads all thoſe ſoules to Jeſus that ſeek him. But ſaith Mr. Cotton two of thoſe Scriptures alledged by me (*Iſa.* 52. 11. *Revel.* 18. 4. which I brought to prove a neceſſitie of leaving the falſe, before a joyning to the true Church, they ſpeake of *locall ſeparation*, which (ſaith he) your ſelfe know we have made.

Mr. Cotton cannot make both comings forth of Babel both in the Type and Antitype to bee locall. If a locall Babel, then alſo now a locall Iudea and Temple, &c. Come out of Babel not materiall, but myſticall.

The Lord Jeſus hath broken down the difference of places and perſons.

2 Chiefest cauſes of Gods indignation againſt England.

For that *locall* and typicall ſeparation from *Babylon*, *Iſa.* 52. I could not well have beleved that Mr. Cotton or any would make that coming forth of *Babel* in the antitype, *Revel.* 18. 4. to be *locall* and *materiall* alſo. What civill State, Nation or Countrey in the world in the antitype muſt now be called *Babel*? certainly, if any, then *Babel* it ſelfe properly ſo called: but there we find (as before) a true Church of Jeſus Chriſt, *1 Pet.* 5.

Secondly, if *Babel* be *locall* now, whence Gods people are called, then muſt there be a locall *Iudea*, a Land of *Canaan* alſo, into which they are called; and where ſhall both that *Babel* and *Canaan* be found in all the commings forth that have been made from the Church of *Rome* in theſe laſt times? But Mr. Cotton having made a locall departure from Old *England* in *Europe*, to New *England* in *America*, can he ſatiſſie his owne ſoule, or the ſoules of other men, that he hath obeyed that voice, *come out of Babel my people, partake not of her ſins, &c.* Doth he count the very Land of *England* literally *Babel*, and ſo conſequently *Egypt* and *Sodome*, *Revel.* 11. 8. and the Land of new *England* *Iudea*, *Canaan*? &c.

The Lord Jeſus (*Iohn* 4.) clearly breaks down all difference of places, and *Acts* 10 all difference of perſons; and for my ſelfe, I acknowledge the Land of *England*, the civill Laws, Government and people of *England*, not to be inferiour to any under heaven. Only 2 things I ſhall humbly ſuggeſt unto my deare Countrymen (whether more *high* and *honourable* at the helme of Government, or more inferiour, who labour and ſaile in this famous Ship of *Englands* Common Wealth) as the greateſt cauſes,

causes, fountaines and top roots of all the Indignation of the most High, against the State and Countrey: First that the whole Nation and Generations of Men have been forced (though unregenerate and unrepentant) to pretend and assume the name of Christ Jesus, which only belongs, according to the Institution of the Lord Jesus, to truly regenerate and repenting soules. Secondly, that all others dissenting from them, whether Jewes or Gentiles, their Countrymen especially (for strangers have a Libertie) have not been permitted *evill cohabitation* in this world with them, but have been distressed and persecuted by them.

These are particulars I should be humbly ready to make proof of.

But to returne, the summe of my Contraverſie with Mr. Cotton is, Whether or no that false Worshipping of the *true* God, be not only a *spirituall guile* liable to Gods sentence and plagues, but also an *habit*, frequently compared in the Prophets, and *Rev. 17.* to a spirit and disposition of spiritual drunkenesse and whoredome, a soule sleep and a soule sicknesse: So that as by the change of a chaire, chamber or bed, a sick or sleepe man, whore or drunkard are not changed, but they remaine the same still. untill that disposition of sickness, *sleepy* drunkenesse, whoredome be put off, and a new habit of *spirituall health, watchfullnes, sobriety, chastitie* be put on.

The soules capacity to false worship is not locall, but a guile, and not only so, but an habit or disposition of spirituall sleep, whoredome, drunkenesse, &c.

CHAP. XVI.

Now concerning that Scripture, *2 Cor. 6.* Mr. Cotton here confesseth it holdeth forth 5. things: That the repenting Corinthians were called out in from the unrepenting:

First, in the Fellowship of their Idolatrie.

1. From making Mariages with them.
2. From Feasting in their Idols temples.
3. From intimate Familiaritie with them.
4. From all Fellowship in the *unfruitfull works of darkness*.

Ans. If regenerate and truly repenting English thus come forth from the unregenerate and unrepenting, how would the name of the Lord Jesus be sanctified, the jealousy of the Lord pacified, their own soules cleansed, judgements prevented, yea and one good meanes practised toward the convincing and saving of the soules of such, from whom in these particulars they depart, and dare not have Fellowship with: especially when in all civill things they walke unblameably, in quiet and helpfull cohabitation, righteous and faithfull dealing, and cheartfull

The benefites of the repenting English, their coming forth from the unrepentant English in those former 5 particulars mentioned by Mr. Cotton.

cheerfull submission to civill Lawes, Orders, Levies, Customes, &c.

Yea but Mr. Cotton demands, What makes all this to prove that godly persons who professedly renounce all ~~lewd~~ sinne, may not be received to Church fellowship, although they see not the utmost skirts of their Pollution as the Patriarchs saw not the pollution of their Poligamie.

The sins of
Gods people
are some, and
reputed to be
of ignorance,
when they are
of negligence,
and yet ignorance
excuseth
not wholly.

Ans. I repeat the former distinction of godly persons, who possibly may live in ungodly practices (especially of false worship) and then according to Mr. Cottons own interpretation of this place to the *Corinthians*, they come not forth. And I add, if there be any voice of Christ in the mouthes of his Witnesses against these sinnes, they are not then of Ignorance, but of Negligence, and *spirituall hardnes*, against the wayes of Gods feare, against *Isa. 63. &c.*

A case put to
Mr. Cotton.

No cause of
more shame
for whoredome
against
an husbands
bed, then against
the bed
of Gods worship.

Moreover our question is not of the *utmost skirts* of Pollution, but the substance of a true or false Bed of Worship (*Art. 1. 16.* in respect of coming out of the *false*, before the entrance into the *true*. And yet I beleve that Mr. Cotton being to receive a person to Church fellowship, who formerly hath been infamous for corporall Whoredome, he would not give his consent to receive such an one, without sound Repentance for the filthines of her skirts (*Lament. 1.*) not only in actual whoredomes, but also in whorish Speeches, Gestures, Appearances, Provocation. And why should there be a greater strictnes for the skirts of common whoredome, then of *spirituall & soull* Whoredome, against the chastitie of Gods Worship? And therefore to that instance of the Fathers Poligamie, I answer: First by observing what great sins godly persons may possibly live and long continue in, notwithstanding godlinesse in the root. Secondly I aske if any person, of whose godlines Mr. Cotton hath had long perswasion, should beleve and maintaine (as questionles the Fathers had grounds satisfying their consciences for what they did:) that he ought to have many Wives, and accordingly so practised; I say, I aske whether Mr. Cotton would receive such a godly person to Church fellowship? yea I aske, whether the Church of the Jewes (had they seen this evil) would have received such a Profelitte from the Gentiles, and when it was seen, whether any persons so practising would have been suffred amongst them: But lastly, what was this

The case of
Poligamy, or
many wives of
the Fathers.

this personall sinne of these godly persons? was it any matter of Gods worship, any joyning with a false Church, Ministry, Worship, Government, from whence they were to come, before they could constitute his true Church, and enjoy his Worship, Ministry, Government, &c.

Mr. Cotton concludeth this passage thus, The Church of *Corinth* had such as partook with Idolaters in their Idolls temple, and was not this (saith he) *touching of an unclean thing*, and did this reject these members from Church fellowship before conviction; and did it evacuate their Church estate, for not casting out of such members?

Ans. This was an unclean thing indeed, from which God calls his people in this place, with glorious promises of receiving them: and Mr. Cotton confesseth that after conviction, any member obstinate in these unclean touches, ought to be rejected, for, saith he, did this sin reject these members from Church fellowship before conviction?

And upon the same ground that one obstinate person ought to be rejected out of Church estate, upon the same ground, if a greater company or Church were obstinate in such unclean touches, and so consequently in a rebellion against Christ, ought every sound Christian Church to reject them, and every sound member to withdraw from them.

And hence further it is cleare, that if such unclean touches obstinately maintained (as Mr. Cotton confesseth and practiseth) be a ground of rejection of a person in the Church, questionlesse it is a ground of rejection when such persons are to joyne unto the Church. And if obstinacie in the whole Church after conviction be a ground for such a Churches rejection, questionlesse such a Church or number of persons obstinate in such evils, cannot congregate nor become a true constituted Church of Jesus Christ.

The greatest question here would be, Whether the *Corinthians* in their first constitution were separate or no, from such Idoll Temples? and this Mr. Cotton neither doth nor can deny; a Church estate being a state of marriage unto Jesus Christ, and so Paul professedly saith, he had espoused them as a chaste virgin to Christ Jesus, 2 Cor. 11.

CHAP. XVII.

Mr. Cotton proceeds to answer some other allegations which

I produced from the confession of sinne made by *Iohns* Disciples, and the Profelitte Gentiles before they were admitted into Church fellowship, *Mat. 3. 6. Acts 19. 18.* Unto which he returneth a 3 fold answere: The first is grounded upon his apparent mistake of my words in a grant of mine, *viz.* Such a confession and renunciation is not absolutely necessary, if the substance of true repentance be discerned. Whence (saith he) according to your own confession, such persons as have the substance of true Repentance may be a true Church.

The substance of true generall repentance in all Gods children, though living in many grosse abominations of false worship, Ministry, &c.

Not the same measure and degrees of repentance in all.

Mr. Cotton.

Some have drunk deep of the Whores cup, and some but sipt, yet intoxicated.

I answer, it is cleare in the progresse of the whole contraversion, that I ever intend by the substance of true Repentance, not that generall grace of Repentance, which all Gods people have (as *Luther* a Monk, and going to, yea publishing the German Masse, and those famous Bishops burnt for Christ in *Qu. Maries* dayes) but that substance of Repentance for those false wayes of Worship, Church, Ministry, &c. in which Gods people have lived, although the confessing and renouncing of them be not so particularly exprest, and with such godly sorrow and indignation as some expresse, and may well become: And indeed the whole scope of that caution was for Christian moderation, and gentleness toward the severall sorts of Gods people, professing particular repentance for their spirituall captivity and bondage, during which captivitie also I readily acknowledge the substance of repentance, and of all the graces of Christ in generall.

In his second Answer *Mr. Cotton* saith, I grant with the one hand, and take away with the other, for he denies it necessary to the admission of members, that every one should be convinced of the sinfullnes of every sipping of the Whores cup, for (saith he) every sipping of a drunkards cup is not sinfull.

Ans. First he doth not rightly aledge my words, for a little before he confesseth, my words to be that Antichristian drunkenesse and whoredome is to be confest of all such as have drunk of the Whores cup, or but sipt of it. In which words I plainly distinguish between such as have drunk deeper of her cup, as Papists, Popish Priests, &c. and such as in comparison have but sipt, as Gods own people, who yet by such sipping have been so intoxicated, as to practise spirituall whoredome against Christ in submitting to false Churches, Ministrie, Worship, &c.

Secondly,

Secondly, whereas he saith every sipping of a drunkards cup is not sintull.

I answere : neither the least sipping , nor constant drinking out of the cup which a drunkard useth to drinke in, is sintull : but every drunken sip (which is our question) is questionlesse sintull and so consequently to be avoyded by the sober , whether the cup of corporall or spirituall drunkennes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Mr. Cotton. Yea but (saith he) the 3000. Jewes were admitted when they repented of their murdering of Christ, although they never saw all the superstitious leavenings wherewith the Pharises had bewitched them : and so no doubt may godly persons now , although they be not yet convinced of every passage of Antichristian superstition, &c. and that upon this ground, that spirituall whoredome and drunkennesse is not so soon discerned as corporall,

I answer, it is not indeed so easily discerned, and yet not the lesse sintull, but infinitely transcendent, as much as spirituall sobriety exceeds corporall, and the bed of the most high God, exceeds the beds of men, who are but dust and ashes.

Secondly, I answere the converted jews although they saw not all the leavenings of the Pharises. yet they mourned for killing of Christ and embraced him in his Worship, Ministry, Government, and were added to his Church : and O that the least beames of light and sparkles of heat were in mine owne and others soules, which were kindled by the holy Spirit of God in those famous converts at the preaching of Peter, Acts 2. The true Christ now in his Worship, Ministry, &c. being discerned and repentance for persecuting and killing of him, being exprest, there necessarily follows a withdrawing from the Church, Ministry and Worship of the false Christ, and submision unto the true : and this is the summe and substance of our contraverfie.

The first Christians the best pattern for all Christians now.

The power of true repentance for killing of Christ.

Concerning the confession of sinnes unto *Iohn*, he grants the Disciples of *Iohn* confess their sins, the Publicans theirs, the Souldiers theirs the people theirs, but saith he, it appears not that they confess their Pharisaicall pollution.

Mr. Cotton.

And concerning the confession Acts 19. 18. he saith it is not exprest that they confess all their deeds.

Ans. If both these confess their notorious sins, (as Mr. Cotton

son expresseth) why not as well their notorious finnes against God, their Idolatries, Superstitious Worships, &c. Surely throughout the whole Scripture, the matters of God, and his Worship are first and most tenderly handled; his people are ever described by the title of his Worshippers, and his enemies by the title of Worshippers of false gods, and worshipping the *trine* after a false manner; and to prove this were to bring forth a candle to the bright shining of the Sun at noon day.

CHAP. XIX.

Mr. Cotton.

His third answer is: But to satisfie you more fully (and the Lord make you willing in true meeknesse of Spirit to receive satisfaction) the body of the members doe in generall profess, that the reason of their coming over to us was, that they might be freed from the bondage of humane Inventions and Ordinances, as their soules groaned under, for which also they profess their hearty sorrow, so farre as through ignorance or infirmitie they have bin defiled. Beside, in our daily meetings, and specially in the times of our solemne Humiliations, we generally all of us bewaile all our former pollutions, where-with we have defiled our selves and the holy things of God, in our former administrations and communions: but we rather choose to doe it then talke of it; and we can but wonder how you can so boldly and resolutely renounce all the Churches of God, for neglect of that which you know not whether they have neglected or no, and before you have admonished us of our sintullnes in such neglect, if it be found amongst us.

Answer.

I answer (with humble desires to the Father of Lights, for the true meeknes and wildome of his Spirit) here is mention of humane Inventions and Ordinances, and defiling themselves and holy things of God in former Administrations, and Communions; and yet no mention what such Inventions and Ordinances, what such Administrations and Communions were: We rather choose to doe it (saith he) then to talke of it, which makes me call to mind, an expression of an eminent and worthy person amongst them in a solemne conference, *viz. What need we speake of Antichrist, can we not enjoy our liberties without inveighing against Antichrist?* &c.

How can a soule truly oppose Anti-christ, that endures not to have his name questioned.

The truth is, I acknowledge their witness against Ceremonies and Bishops, but that yet they see not the evill of a Nationall Church (notwithstanding they constitute only particular

cular and independant) let their constant practice speake, in still joyning with such Churches and Ministers in the Ordinances of the Word and Prayer, and their Persecuting of my selfe for my humble and faithfull, and constant admonishing of them, of such unclean walking between a particular Church (which they only protest to be Christs) and a Nationall, which Mr. Cotton protesteth to separate from.

*Mr. Cotton
witnessing a-
gainst a nati-
onall Church,
and yet hold-
ing fellowship
with it.*

But how could I possibly be ignorant, (as he seemeth to charge me) of their state, when being from first to last in fellowship with them, an Officer amongst them, had private and publike agitations concerning their state and condition, with all or most of their Ministers, and at last suffered for such admonitions to them, the miserie of a Winters Banishment amongst the Barbarians: and yet saith he, You know not what we have done, neither have you admonished us of our sinfullnes.

*Impossible for
the answerer
to be ignorant
of their
Church estate,
as Mr. Cotton
pretendeth.*

CHAP. XX.

Mr. Cotton. A third Scripture which I produced was Hag-
gai 2. 13, 14, 15. desiring that the place might be thoroughly weighed; and that the Lord might please to hold the scales himselfe, the Prophet there telling the Church of the Jewes, that if a person unclean by a dead body touch holy things, those holy things become unclean unto them; and so saith he is this Nation, and so is every work of their hands and that which they offer is unclean: whence I infer'd, that even Church Covenants made, and Ordinances practiced by persons polluted through spirituall deadnes, and filthines of Communion, such Covenants and Ordinances become unclean unto them, and are prophaned by them.

Mr. Cotton.

Mr. Cotton answers, Your purpose was to prove that Churches cannot be constituted by such persons as are unclean by Antichristian pollutions, or if they be so constituted they are not to be communicated with, but separated from: But the Prophet acknowledgeth the whole Church of the Jewes to be unclean, and yet neither denies them to be a Church truly constituted, nor stirs up himselfe or others to separate from them.

Ans. I acknowledge the true constitution of the Church of the Jewes, and affirm that this their true constitution was the reason why they were not to be separated from: for being

The Church
of the Jews a
Nationall
Church truly
constituted,
therefore not
to be sepa-
rated from.
Death and
captivity in
the nationall
church typed
out spirituall
death & cap-
tivity in the
particular.

Ceremoniall
uncleannesse
in the natio-
nall Church
typed out mo-
rall unclean-
nesse in the
particular.

a Nationall Church, ceremoniall and typicall their Excom-
munication was either putting to death in, or captivitie out
of that ceremoniall Canaan. Hence *Salmanassars* carrying the
16. Tribes captive out of this Land is said to be the casting of
them out of Gods sight, 2 *Kings* 17. which was their Excom-
munication.

Accordingly in the particular Christian Churches, Christ
Jesus cuts off by spirituall death, which is Excommunication,
or for want of due execution of Justice by that Ordinance in
his Kingdome, he sells the Church into spirituall captivitie,
to confused (Babylonish) Lords, and Worshipps, and to drives
them out of his sight.

Now from the consequent of this place in *Haggai* mine ar-
gument stands good; and Mr. *Cotton* here acknowledgeth it,
that *holy things* may be all uncleane to Gods people, when they
lie in their uncleannes, as this people did. Those Scriptures,
Levit. 16. & *Numbers* 19. which discourse of typicall and Ce-
remoniall uncleannesse, he acknowledgeth to type out in the
Gospel the Morall uncleannes either of *dead works*, *Ephes.* 5.
11. or *dead persons*, 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. or *dead world*, *Gal.* 6. 14. and in
this place of *Haggai*, he acknowledgeth that Gods people,
Prince and people, were defiled by worldlines, in which con-
dition (saith he) their oblations, their bodily labours, were all
uncleane, and found neither acceptance nor blessing from the
Lord.

Therefore saith he afterward: In the Church godly Chri-
stians themselves, while they attend to the world more then
to the things of God, are uncleane in the sight of God: ther-
fore the Church cannot be constituted of such; or if it be con-
stitute of such, the people of God must separate from them.
And lastly, he saith, the Church of Christ and members ther-
of must separate themselves from their hypocrisie, and world-
lynes, els they and their duties will be unclean in the sight of
God notwithstanding their Church estate.

Ans. What have I more spoken then Mr. *Cotton* himselve
hath uttered in this his explication and application of this
Scripture? As

First, that godly persons may become defiled and unclean
by hypocrisie and worldlines.

Secondly, while they lie in such a condition of uncleannes,
all

all their offerings, persons, labours are unclean in the sight of *Mr. Cotton* God, and have neither acceptance nor blessing from him: but *own confessi-* they and their duties are unclean in his sight notwithstanding *on concerning* their Church estate. *unclean wor-*

Thirdly, the Church of Christ cannot be constituted of such godly persons, when defiled with such worldlinesse. *(ships even of* *godly persons.*

Fourthly, the Church consisting of such worldly persons (though otherwise godly and Christian) the people of God must separate from them.

These are *Mr. Cottons* owne expresse words which justify:

Inferences
from Master
Cottons grant.

First my former distinction of godly persons in their personall respect, between God and themselves; and yet becoming ungodly in their outward defilements.

Secondly, they justify my assertion of a necessitie of cleansing from Antichristian filthines and communions with dead works, dead worships dead persons in Gods worship, if the touches of the dead world, or immoderate love of it doe so defile, as *Mr. Cotton* here affirmeth.

Thirdly, if (as he saith) the Church cannot be constituted of such godly persons as are defiled by immoderate love of the world, much lesse can it be constituted of godly persons defiled with the dead Inventions, Worships, Communions of *unregenerate* and ungodly persons.

Fourthly he justifies a separation from such Churches, if so constituted, or so constituting, because though worldlines be Adulterie against God *James 4.* yet not comparable to spirituall Adultery of a false bed of Worship, Ministrie, &c.

CHAP. XXI.

Mr. Cotton proceedeth. The second stumbling block or offence which you have taken at the way of these Churches, is that you conceive us to walk between Christ and Antichrist. First in practising separation here, and not repenting of our preaching and Printing against it in our own Countie. Secondly, in reproaching your selfe at *Salem* and others for separation. Thirdly in particular, that my selfe have conceived and spoken, that separation is a way that God hath not prospered: yet say you the truth of the Churches way depends not upon the countenance of men, or upon outward peace and liberty.

Unto this he answers, that they halt not, but walke in the midst

midst of 2 extreames, the one of being defiled with the pollution of other Churches, the other of renouncing the Churches for the remnant of Pollutions.

This moderation he (with ingenuous moderation) professeth he sees no cause to repent of, &c.

Ans. With the Lords gracious assistance we shall prove this middle walking to be no lesse then halting, for which we shall shew cause of repentance, beseeching him that is a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance unto his *Israel*, *Acts* 5. 3.

First Mr. Cotton himselfe confesseth, that no Nationall, Provinciall, Diocesane, or Parish Church (wherin some truly godly are not) are true Churches. Secondly, he practiseth no Church estate, but such as is constituted only of godly persons, nor admitteth any unregenerate or ungodly person. Thirdly, he confesseth a Church of Christ cannot be constituted of such godly persons, who are in bondage to the inordinate love of the world. Fourthly, if a Church consist of such, Gods people ought to separate from them.

Mr. Cotton
extenuates &
minceth the
root, masse and
substance of
the matter of
nationall churches,
which he
acknowledgeth
to be unregenerate,
not yet born
again, by naming
only a remnant of
pollutions.

The estate of
the godly
mingled with
the ungodly
in worships.

Upon these his owne confessions, I earnestly beseech Mr. Cotton and all that feare God to ponder how he can say he walks with an even foot between 2 extreames, when according to his own confession, Nationall Churches, Parish Churches, yea a Church constituted of godly persons given to inordinate love of the world are false and to be separated from: and yet he will not have the Parish Church to be separated from, for the remnant of pollution (I conceive he meaneth ceremonies & Bishops) notwithstanding that he also acknowledgeth, that the generality of every Parish in *England* consisteth of unregenerate persons, and of thousands inbondaged, not only to worldlines, but also ignorance, superstition, scoffing swearing, cursing, whoredome drunkennesse, theft, lying. What are 2. or 3. or more of regenerate and godly persons in such commanions, but as 2 or 3 Roses or Lillies in a wilderness? a few grains of good corne in a heap of chaffe? a few sheep among heards of Wolves or Swine, or (if more civill) flocks of Goats? a little good dough swallowed up with a whole bushell of leaven? or a little precious gold confounded and mingled with a whole heap of drosse? The Searcher of all Hearts knowes I write not this to reproach any, knowing that my selfe am by nature a child of wrath, and that the father of mercies shews mercy
to

to whom and when he will: but for the Name of Christ Jesus, in *The state of loving faithfulness to my Countrymens soules, and defence of men must be truth*, I remember my worthy adversary of that state and condition, from which his confessions say he must separate, his *discovered* practise in gathering of Churches seemes to say he doth separate *unto them*, and yet he professeth there are but some remnants of pollution amongst them for which he dares not separate.

CHAP. XII.

Mr. Cotton. Secondly (saith he) I know no man that reproacheth *Salem* for their separation, nor doe I beleeve that they doe separate, howsoever if any do reproach them for it, I think it a sin meet to be censured, but not with so deep a censure as to excommunicate all the Churches, or to separate from them before it do appeare that they doe tolerate their members in such their cauteles reproachings: We confesse the errors of men are to be contended against, not with reproaches, but the Sword of the Spirit: but on the other side, the sayings of the Churches are not forthwith to be healed by separation. It is not chyrurgery but butcherie to heale every sore in a member with no other but abscision from the body.

Ans. The Church of *Salem* was known to profes separation, and was generally and publikely reproached (and I could mention a case wherein she was punished) for it implicitly.

Mr. Cotton here confesseth these 2 things, which (I leave to himselfe to reconcile, with his former profession here and elswhere against separation. First (saith he) if any reproach them for separation it is a sin meet to be censured. Secondly, the Churches themselves may be separated from, who tolerate their members in such cauteles reproachings. In these later passages he seems (as in other his confessions and practises mentioned) to be for it, sensible of shame, disgrace or reproach to be cast on it.

I grant with him the failings of Churches are not forthwith to be healed by separation, yet himselfe within a few lines confesseth there is a lawfull separation from Churches, that doe but tolerate their members in cauteles reproaches.

I confesse also that it is not chyrurgerie but butcherie, to heale every sore with no other medicine but with abscision from the body: yet himselfe confesseth before, that even Churches of godly persons must be separated from, for im-

moderate

Mr. Cotton
seemes to bee
both for and
yet against
separation.

Mr. Cottons
own confessi-
ons are suffi-
cient answers
to himselfe.

Not for a
fore of infir-
mity, but a le-
prosie or gan-
grene of ob-
stinacie ought
a person to be
cut off.

Mr. Cotton
deeply guilty
of cruelty both
against con-
sciences and
bodies in per-
secuting of
them, yet cries
out against
the appearance
of due severi-
tie in the
Church of
Christ.

Gods contro-
verse for per-
secution.

The sufferings
of the separa-
tists and Pu-
ritans in
England com-
pared.

Mr. Vdall,
Mr. Penny,
Mr. Barrow,
Mr. Green-
wood.

moderate worldlines: And again here he confesseth they may be separated from, when they tolerate their members in such their causeles reproachings. Beside, it is not every fore of infirmities or ignorance, but an Ulcer or Gangrene of Obstinacy, for which I maintained that a person ought to be cut off, or a Church separated from. But if he call that butcherie conscienciously and peaceably to separate from a spirituall communion of a Church or societie, what shall it be called by the second *Adam* the Lord Jesus (who gives names to all creatures and all actions) to cut off persons, them and theirs, branch and root, from any civill being in their territories; and consequently from the whole world (were their territories so large) because their consciences dare not bow down to any worship, but what they beleieve the Lord Jesus appointed and being also otherwise subject to the civill state and Laws thereof.

CHAP. XXIII.

Thirdly, whereas I urged a speech of his own, *viz.* that God had not prospered the way of separation, and conceives that I understood him of outward prosperitie. He affirms the Puritans to have been worse used in *England* then the Separatists, & thus writes: The meeting of the Separatists may be known to the Officers in Court and winked at, when the Conventicles of the Puritans (as they call them) shall be hunted out with all diligence, and pursued with more violence then any Law can justifie,

Ans. Doubles the contraverisie of God hath bin great with this Land, that either of both have been so violently pursued and periecutated: I beleieve they are both the Witnesses of severall truths of Jesus Christ, against an impenitent and unchristian profession of the name of the Lord Jesus.

Now for their sufferings: As the Puritans have not comparably suffered (as but seldome congregating in separate assemblies from the common) so have not any of them suffered unto death for the way of Non-conformitie to Ceremonies, &c. Indeed the worthy witnes Mr. *Vdall* was neere unto death for his witnes against Bishops and Ceremonies: but Mr. *Penny*, Mr. *Barrow*, Mr. *Greenwood* followed the Lord Jesus with their Gibbets on their shoulders and were hanged with him and for him in the way of separation: many more have been condemned to die, banished and choaked in prisons, I could produce upon occasion.

Again, I beleeve that there hardly hath ever been a conscientious Separatist, who was not first a Puritan: for (as Mr. *Can* hath unaniverably proved) the grounds and principles of the Puritans against Bishops and Ceremonies, and prophanes of people professing Christ, and the necessitie of Christs flock and discipline, must necessarily, if truly followed, lead on to, and intorce a separation from such wayes, worshipps, and Worshippers, to seek out the true way of Gods worship according to Christ Jesus.

Few conscientious Separatists but first were Puritans. The Non-conformists grounds in force separation.

But what should be the reason, (since the separatist witnesseth against the root of the Church constitution it selfe, that yet he should find (as Mr. *Cotton* saith) more favour then the Puritan or Non-conformist?

Doubtles the reasons are evident: First most of Gods servants who out of sight of the ignorance, unbeliefe and prophanes of the body of the Nationall Church, have separated and durst not have longer fellowship with it; I say most of them have been poore and low, and not such gainfull customers to the Bishops, their Courts and Officers.

Most of the separation of the lower sort of people.

The poverty of Mr. Ainsworth.

That worthy instrument of Christs praise Mr. *Ainsworth*, during some time (and some time of his great labours in *Holland*) lived upon 9^d. per week with roots boiled, &c. Whereas on the other side such of Gods servants as have been Non-conformists have had faire estates, been great persons, have had rich livings and benefices, of which the Bishops and theirs (like greedie Wolves) have made the more desirable prey.

The Nonconformists have been a faire booty for the Bishops.

Secondly, it is a principle in nature to preferre a professed enemy, before a pretended friend. Such as have separated, have been lookt at by the Bishops and theirs, as known and professed enemies: whereas the Puritans protest subjection, and have submitted to the Bishops, their Courts, their Officers, their Common Prayer and Worshipps, and yet (as the Bishops have well known) with no greater affection, then the Israelites bare their Egyptian cruel Taskmasters.

The Separatists have been professed enemies, but the Puritans in many things professed friends & subjects to the Bishops.

He saith, God hath not prospered the way of Separation with peace amongst themselves and growth of Grace.

Ans. The want of peace may befall the truest Churches of the Lord Jesus at *Antioch*, *Corinth*, *Galatia*, who were exercised with great distractions. Secondly, it is a common character of a false Church, maintained by the Smiths and Cutlers Shop,

A false church may enforce a present greater (though false grace) then the true Spouse of Christ Iesus. to enjoy a quiet calme and peaceable tranquillity, none daring for feare of civill punishment, to question, object, or differ from the common roade and custome. Thus sings that great Whore the Antichristian Church, *Revel. 18, I sit as a Queen, am no widow, see no sorrow,* while Christs dearest complaines, *she is forsaken, sits weeping as a Widow, Lam. 1.* Thirdly, Gods people in that way, have sometimes long enjoyed sweet peace and soul contentment in *England, Holland, New England,* and other places, and would not have exchanged a day of such an holy and peaceable harmonie for thousands in the Courts of Princes, seeing no other, and in sinceritie seeking after the Lord Iesus.

Gods people have found infinite sweetnes and peace in some times of their holy communion. Breaches have been and must be among all Gods people to make them celebrate the Lords holy ordinances according to due order.

Many graces lesse Iudasies amongst Gods people.

Multitudes of gracious and holy persons that have professed Separation

And yet I humbly conceive, that as *David* with the Princes and 30 thousand Israelites, carrying the Ark on the shoulders of the Oxen, leaped and danced with great rejoycing, untill God smote *Vzzah* for his Error and Disorder, and made a breach, and a teaching Monument of *Perez Vzzah*, the breach of *Vzzah*: So in like manner all those celebrations of the spirituall Arke or Ordinances, which yet I have know, although for the present accompanied with great rejoycing and triumphing; yet, as they have not been after the Due Order. so have they all met with and still must a *Perez Vzzah*, breaches and Divisions, untill the Lord Iesus discover, direct and encourage his servants in his own *due holy Order* and appointment. And for growth in Grace, notwithstanding that amongst all sorts of Gods Witnessles, some false brethren creep in as cheaters and spies, and Judasies, dishonouring the name of Christ Iesus, and betraying his Witnessles: yet Sathan himselfe the accuser of the Saints, cannot but confesse that multitudes of Gods Witnessles (reproached with the names of Brownists, and Anabaptists) have kept themselves from the error of the wicked, and grow in grace and knowledge of the Lord Iesus, endeavouring to cleanse themselves from all filthines both of flesh and spirit, and to finish holines in the feare of God. I will not make odious and envious comparisons, but desire that all that name the name of the Lord Iesus may depart wholly and for ever from iniquity.

CHAP. XXIII.

M. Cotton,

Lastly he addeth. That such as erring through simplicitie and tendernes, have grown in grace, have grown also to discern their lawfull liberty in the hearing of the Word from English preachers.

Ans. I will not question the uprightness of some, who have gone back from many truths of God which they have professed: yet mine own experience of 4 sorts who have backslidden, I shall report; for a warning to all into whose hands these may come, to be like *Ananias* (*Agvel. 2.*) a faithfull witness to the death, to any of the truths of the Lord Jesus, which he shall please to be trust them with: *Some sorts of back-sliders from separation far from grow. b in grace.*

First I have known no small number of such torn to absolute Familisme, and under their pretences of great raptures of Love deny all obedience to, or seeking after the pure Ordinances and appointments of the Lord Jesus. *Some back-sliding turn to Familisme.*

Secondly, others have laid the raines upon the necks of their consciences, and like the Dog lick up their vomit of former lootes and prophanes of lip and life; and have been so farre from growing in grace, that they have turned the grace of God into wantonnes. *Some to prophane.*

Thirdly, others backsliding have lost the beautie and shining of a tender conscience toward God, and of a mercifull compassion toward men, becomming most fierce persecutors of their own formerly fellow witnesses, and of any other who have differd in conscience from them. *Some to persecuting of others.*

Lastly, others although preserved from Familisme, prophanes and persecuting of others, yet the lease of their Christian courtesie hath withered, the later beautie and savour of their holines hath not been like their former; and they have confessed & do, their sin, their weaknes, their bondage, and wish they were at liberty in their former freedom: and some have gone with little peace, but sorrow to their graves, confessing to my selfe and others, *that God never prospered them in soule or body, since they sold away his truth*, which once they had bought and made profession of it never to sell it. *Some to lanning in sorrow and sadness, &c.*

CHAP. XXV.

Yea but (saith he) they have grown to discern their lawfull libertie, to return to the hearing of the Word from English preachers. *Mr. Cotton.*

Ans. Here I might ingage my selfe in a contraverfie, which neither this Treatise will permit; nor is there need, since it hath pleased the Father of lights to stirre up the spirit of a faithfull Witnes of his truth in this particular, Mr. *Cann*, to make a large and faithfull reply to a Book, Printed in Mr. *Robinsons* bearing. *Mr. Cans answer to Mr. Robinsons Liberty of*

Robinsons name, tending to prove such a lawfull Liberty.

For such excellent and worthy persons whom Mr. Cotton here intends by the name of English preachers, I acknowledge my selfe unworthy to hold the candle to them: yet I shall humbly present what Mr. Cotton himselfe professeth in 3 particulars:

First concerning this title English preachers.

Secondly, hearing the Word from such English preachers.

Thirdly, the lawfull calling of such to the Ministry or service, according to Christ Jesus.

For the first he acknowledgeth, that the ordinarie Ministers of the Gospel are Pastors, Teachers, Bishops, Overseers, Elders, and that their proper worke is to feed and govern, a truly converted, holy and godly people, gathered into a flock or Church estate, and not properly preachers to convert, beget, make Disciples, which the Apostles and Evangelists professedly were. Now then that man that professeth himselfe a Minister, and professeth to feed a Flock or Church, with the Ordinances of Word and Prayer, he must needs acknowledge that his proper worke is not to preach for conversion, which is most preposterous amongst a converted Christian people, fed up with Ordinances in Church estate: So that according to Mr. Cottons confession English preachers are, not Pastors, Teachers, Bishops, Elders, but preachers of glad news (Evangelists) men sent to convert and gather Churches (Apostles) embassadors, trumpeters with Proclamation from the King of Kings, to convert, subdue, bring in rebellious unconverted, unbelieving, unchristian soules to the obedience and subjection of the Lord Jesus.

I readily confesse that at the Pastors (or Shepherds) feeding of his flock, and the Prophets prophesying in the Church, an unbeliever coming in is convinced, falls on his face and acknowledgeth God to be there: yet this is accidentall that any unbeliever should come in; and the Pastors worke is to feed his Flock, Acts 20. and prophecie is not for unbeevers, but for them that beleeve, to edifie, exhort and comfort the Church, 1 Cor. 14. 22.

I also readily acknowledge that it hath pleased God to work a personll repentance in the hearts of thousands in Germany, England, Low Countries, France, Scotland, Ireland, &c. Yea and who

Mr Cottons
confession
concerning the
ministry.

επισκοποι,
διδασκαλοι,
πρεσβυτεροι,
Ματθ. 28.
μαρτυροι.

Preachers and
Pastor sure
different,

Conversion in
a Church ac-
cidental.

Personal re-
pentance
brought in
thousands of
godly persons
in Popish mi-
nistries.

who knows but in *Italy, Spain, Rome*, not only by such men, who decline the name of Bishops, Priests, Deacons (the constituted Ministry of *England* hitherto) but also by such as have owned them, a *Luther* remaining a Monke, and famous holy men remaining and burning Lord Bishops. But all this hath been under the notion of Ministers feeding their flocks, not of preachers sent to convert the unconverted and unbelieving.

To preach mainly for conversion of that people, to whom a man stands Shepherd as to a converted people and flock of Christ, a dangerous disorder.

This passage I present for 2 Reasons: First because so many excellent and worthy persons mainly preach for conversion, as conceiving (and that truly) the body of the people of *England* to be in a naturall and unregenerate estate: and yet account they themselves fixed and constant Officers and Ministers to particular Parishes or congregations, unto whom they also administer the holy things of God, though sometimes few, and sometimes none regenerate or new borne have been found amongst them: which is a matter of high concernment touching the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the soules of men. Secondly that in these great Earthquakes wherein it pleaseth God to shake foundations civill and spirituall, such a Ministry of Christ Jesus may be sought after, whose proper worke is preaching, for converting and gathering of true penitents to the fellowship of the Son of God.

Gods people must seeke after a ministry sent by Christ to convert.

CHAP. XXVI.

The second thing which *Mr. Cotton* himselfe hath profest concerning English preachers is, that although the Word, yet not the Seales may be received from them: because (saith he) there is no communion in hearing, and the Word is to be preached to All, but the seales he conceives (and that rightly) are prophaned in being dispensed to the ungodly, &c.

Mr. Cotton.

Ans. *Mr. Cotton* himselfe maintaineth, that the dispensing of the Word in a Church estate, is Christs feeding of his flock (ant. 1. 8. Christs kissing of his Spouse or Wife, Cant. 1. 2. Christs embracing of his Spouse in the marriage bed, Cant. 1. 16. Christs nursing of his children at his wives brest, Cant. 4. and is there no communion between the Shepherd and his Sheep? the Husband and his Wife in chaste kisses and embraces, and the Mother and her Child at the brest?

The communion or fellowship of the word taught in a Church estate.

Beside he confesseth, that that Fellowship in the Gospel, Phil. 1. 3. is a fellowship or communion in the Apostles doctrine, communitive, breaking of bread, and prayer, in which

the

the first Church continued, *Acts 2. 46.* All which overthrowes that Doctrine of a lawfull participation of the Word and Prayer in a Church estate, where it is not lawfull to communicate in the breaking of bread or scales.

CHAP. XXVII.

Thirdly concerning the lawtull Commission or calling of English preachers.

Eminent Ministers so accounted in old England, professe themselves private Christians in new England.

Mr. Cotton himselfe and others most eminent in New England have freely confest, that notwithstanding their former profession of Ministry in Old England, yet in New England (untill they received a calling from a particular Church, that they were but private Christians.

Secondly, that Christ Jesus hath appointed no other calling to the Ministrie, but such as they practice in New England, and therefore consequently that all other which is not from a particular Congregation of godly persons, is none of Christs.

False callings or commissions for the Ministry.

As first a calling or commission received from the Bishops, Secondly from a Parish of naturall and *unregenerate* persons.

Thirdly, from some few godly persons, yet remaining in Church fellowship after the Parish way.

Lastly the eminent gifts and abilities are but Qualifications fitting and preparing for a call or Office according to *1 Tim. 3. 12. 1. 1.* All which premises duly considered, I humbly desire of the Father of Lights, that Mr. Cotton, and all that feare God may try what will abide the fire triall in this particular, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed in flaming fire, &c.

CHAP. XXVIII

Mr. Cotton.

The close of his Letter is an Answer to a passage of mine, which he repeateth in an Objection thus: But this you feare is to condemn the witneses of Jesus (the Separate Churches in London, and elsewhere) and our jealous God will visit us for such arreages: yea the curse of the Angel to *Moros* will fall upon us, because we come not to help *Jeboiab* against the mighty: we pray not for them, we come not at them (but at Parishes frequently) yea we reproach and censure them.

To which he answereth, that neither Christ nor his Apostles after him, nor Prophets before him ever delivered that way. That they feare not the Angels curse, because it is not to help *Jeboiab* but Sathan, to withdraw people from the Parishes

shes where they have found more presence of Christ, and evidence of his Spirit then in separated Churches: That they pray not for them because they cannot pray in faith for a blessing upon their Separation: and that it is little comfort to heare of separated Churches, as being the inventions of men, and blames them that being desirous of Reformation, they stumble not only at the Inventions of men, but for their sakes at the Ordinances of the Lord, because they separate not only from the Parishes, but from the Church at *Plimouth*, and of that wherof Mr. *Lathrap* was Pastor, who (as he saith) not only refuse all the Inventions of men, but choose to serve the Lord in his own Ordinances. Only, lastly he professeth his inward sorrow that my self helpe erring, though zealous soules against the mighty Ordinances of the Lord, which whosoever stumble at shall be broken, because whosoever will not kisse the Sonne (that is, will not heare and embrace the words of his mouth) shall perish in their way.

Ans. However Mr. *Cotton* beleeves and writes of this point, yet hath he not duly considered these following particulars:

First the faithfull labours of many Witnesses of *Iesus Christ*, extant to the world, abundantly proving, that the Church of the Jews under the Old Testament in the type, and the Church of the Christians under the New Testament in the Antitype, were both separate from the world; and that when they have opened a gap in the hedge or wall of Separation between the Garden of the Church and the Wildernes of the world, God hath ever broke down the wall it selfe, removed the Candlestick, &c. and made his Garden a Wildernesse, as at this day. And that therefore if he will ever please to restore his Garden and Paradiſe again, it must of necessitie be walled in peculiarly unto himselfe from the world, and that all that shall be saved out of the world are to be transplanted out of the Wildernes of the world, and added unto his Church or Garden.

Secondly, that all the grounds and principles leading to oppose Bishops, Ceremonies. Common Prayer, prostitution of the Ordinances of Christ to the ungodly and to the true practice of Christs own Ordinances, doe necessarily (as before I intimated, and Mr. *Cotton* hath fully proved) conclude a separation of holy from unholy, penitent from impenitent, godly from ungodly, &c. and that to frame any other building upon

The garden of the churches of both old and new Testament, planted with an hedge or wall of separation from the world. When Gods people neglect to maintain that hedge or wall, God hath turned his garden into a wildernesse. The Non-conformists necessarily enforce a separation of the Church from the unclean and holy things.

such grounds and foundations, is no other then to raise the form of a square house upon the Keele of a Ship, which will never prove a sonl saving true Arke or Church of Christ Jesus according to the Patterne.

Thirdly the multitudes of holy and faithfull men and women who since *Q. Maries* dayes have witnessed this truth by writing disputing and in suffering losse of *goods and friends*, in *imprisonments, banishments, death, &c.* I confesse the Nonconformists have suffered also: but they that have suffered for this cause have farre exceeded, in not only witnessing to those grounds of the Non-conformists but to those Truths also, the unavoidable conclusions of the Non-conformists principles.

Fourthly, what is that which Mr. Cotton and to many hundred, this fearing God in New England walk in, but a way of separation? Of what matter doe they profess to constitute their Churches, but of true godly persons? In what form doe they call this matter, but by a *voluntary uniting*, or *adding* of such godly persons, whom they carefully examine, and cause to make a *publike confession* of *sinne*, and *profession* of their *knowledge*, and *grace* in Christ? Nay when other English have attempted to set up a Congregation after the Parishionall way, have they not been supprest? Yea have they not professedly and lately answered many worthy persons, whom they account godly Ministers and people that they could not permit them to live in the same Common-wealth together with them, if they set up any other Church and Worship then what themselves practise? Let their own soules, and the soules of others seriously ponder in the feare of God, what should be the Reason why themselves so practising, should persecute others for not leaving open a gap of Liberty to escape *persecution* and the Crosse of Christ, by frequenting the Parishes in Old England, which Parishes themselves *persecute* in New England, and will not permit them to breath in the common aire amongst them.

Fifthly in the Parishes (which Mr. Cotton holds but inventions of men) however they would have liberty to frequent the Worship of the Word, yet they separate from the Sacraments: and yet according to Mr. Cottons own principles (as before) there is as true Communion in the Ministration of the word in a Church estate as in the scales: What mystery should be in this, but that here also the Crosse or Gibbet of Christ may

The great
suffering in
this cause.

A fr. Cotton
and others
zealous pra-
ctice of sepa-
ration in New
England.

Mr. Cotton
allowing li-
berty to fre-
quent these
parishes in Old
England:
which parishes
he himselfe
persecutes in
New England

A great mys-
tery in the e-
scaping of the
crosse of
Christ.

be

be avoyded in a great measure, if persons come to Church, &c.

Lastly, however he saith, *he hath not found such presence of Christ, and evidence of his Spirit in such Churches, as in the Parishes:* What should be the reason of their great rejoycings and boastings of their own Separations in New England, inasmuch ^{The New English Churches} that some of the most eminent amongst them have affirmed, ^{they pretend} That even the Apostles Churches were not so pure? Surely ^{by some to be} if the same New English Churches were in Old England, they ^{have then the} could not meet without Persecution, which therefore in Old ^{first establish} England they avoid by frequenting the way of Church-worship (which in New England they Persecute) the Parishes. ^{ed by the} ^{apostles.}

Upon these considerations how can Mr. *Cotton* be offended that I should help (as he calls them) any zealous soules, not against the mighty Ordinances of the Lord Jesus, but to seek after the Lord Jesus without halting? Yea why should Mr. *Cotton*, or any desirous to practice Reformation, kindle a fire of Persecution against such zealous soules, especially considering ^{The reformation desired} that themselves, had they so inveighed against Bishops, ^{now had been} Common Prayer, &c. in Edward the 6. his dayes had been accounted ^{accounted Heresie in Ed. 6.} as great Hereticks, in those Reforming times as any now ^{his dayes} can be in these: yet would it have been then, and since hath it been great oppression and Tyranny to persecute their consciences, and still will it be for them to persecute the consciences of others in Old or New England.

How can I better end then Mr. *Cotton* doth, by warning, that all that will not kisse the Son (that is, heare and embrace the words of his mouth) shall perish in their way, *Psal. 2. 12.* And I desire Mr. *Cotton* and every soule to whom these lines may come, seriously to consider, in this Contraversie, if the Lord Jesus were himsele in person in Old or New England, what Church, what Ministry, what Worship, what Government he would set up, and what persecution he would practice toward them that would not receive Him?



Anti-Aulicus.
February. 1643

Discovering VWeekly the Policies, Deceits,
and Erroneous Maximes of the Court: And Infor-
ming the People of their Cause, Interest, and what
soever he conceives will advantage the same; As
Aulicus shall give occasion in his Weekly Pamphlet.



IT is sufficiently known, I suppose, as well to those who are misled into the Court Faction, as to them who continue faithfull to their Countrey, that the Designe of the Court before the Parliament was, to doe what they listed in the Kingdome: As appears by the experience of those times, and that Catalogue of exorbitant Actions summ'd up in the Parliaments first Remonstrance. This Designe uncontrollably went on for fifteen years till the Kings necessities urg'd him to convoke a Parliament for supply of moneys to maintain the War against the *Scots*: But that Parliament abominating to be made properties in procuring their own, and their Brethrens slavery (though they were tempted by all fair and foul means possible thereunto,) were soone dissolved: And the Court supposing themselves to be again forced from all rule of Government, proceeded in their old wayes, adding some new and more lawlesse projections of raising money upon the People: But finding them too much to distrelsh these proceedings, and their necessities still urging, it was thought convenient the second time to have recourse to a Parliament; to pack with for the purpose, besides the generall corruptions of most of the great Families of the Kingdome by being formerly drawn into Court Offices, and participating of the Tyranny of the times, more then ordinary paines, and more then palpable in justice was used, in many Counties, to which shuffling we may justly attribute the relinquishing of the *Peoples Service*, by so many of the members now at *Oxford*.

Notwithstanding which under-hand dealing so heavy had been

the Court oppressions upon the *People*, and by meanes also of the indoltry of Religious Ministers in most parts of the Kingdom, who preserved a godly and honest spirit in the hearts of most men uninterested in the Courts Faction: This Parliament likewise was so well chosen as that it could by no means be made serviceable to the Courts ends.

Whereupon it was conceived necessary for the present to appease the *Scors*, and prosecute this Parliament as the nearer enemy, which hath hitherto been done, we our selves may say, with no lesse craft and subtilty, then if the Politique Countells of *Spain* and *Rome*, of all Achitophels and Machiavels had conspired in one, to bring an honest hearted *People*, with their own wills too, to a contented villanage and slavery.

Amongst other waies, the writing part hath especially been plied, to make good the claimes of the Court, and render the Parliament odious to the *People*; by which many good men otherwise well inclin'd have withdrawne their service and assistance from their Country: New poisons are every week vented from *Oxford*, wherein licence is taken by all opprobrious and scurrilous wayes to defame those Members and others, that remaine faithfull to the *People*, amongst which, that which goes under the Name of *Mercurius Anticus* is not the least dangerous, for though the Man himself be but a Hireling in the businesse, and has undertaken the employment, in hope to be some Gay-thing or other, yet forasmuch as I deem the Court to furnish the materialls, and through him to distill what forgeries and errors they please, into the heads; of the *People*; I have undertaken the Pamphlet, at least so much of it as is scandalous to the Parliament or seems to justify the Courts proceedings, to disparage our Cause, to possesse the *People* with new, or confirm them in old Errors: leaving the Mercuriall part thereof to be contradicted by the known events of proceedings, or by such as have better and more constant Intelligence then my self.

The Court trick of spreading false news, is the Bankrupts Policy, and scorn'd of all, but such as are low in their fortunes, and forc'd to fly to such a base and contemptible refuge, to Boy themselves up again; which but that they are assured they have to doe with a devoted and credulous *People*, would redound to their disadvantage.

To passe by those forgeries which are the buddings of *Anticus*, Wit and Wine, though I confesse moving enough upon the looser and

and lesse discerning sort of people, to whom hee directs them: thinke it seasonable to put all People in mind only of this, that hee has followed the rules of those that practice the art of Lying and deceit. 1. That his Lies be pleasing and sportfull for his people, of which nature is his scurrilous report concerning the Maids of *Norwich* that rais'd a Troope for the Parliaments service; and his other fancy of Sir *William Wallers* buying of *Arundel* Castle. 2. That they be not discoverable, or at least either but to a few, or not till the season be over. And this rule is observed by *Aulicus* in his supposall, that *Walloones*, and other Forraigners are entertained; and in his Fiction, that they are now leaving the Parliaments service. 3. That they be wittily told, for wit oftentimes makes a lie passe for Truth. The consideration of these rules, and how strictly they are observed by *Aulicus*, will prove I doubt not a speciall means to preserve each mans heart from that infection with which that Pamphlet every week goes big withall.

He tels us a Story of one Mr. *Beuple* of *Barnstable*, who being neer his end did often (hee sayes) torment and curte himself for taking part with the Rebels (at *Oxford* ture hee meant for I know no other but them and their accomplices, with whom Mr. *Beuple* after his Apostasie from the Parliament made one) me thinks *Aulicus* should know the Fictions of this nature are too common and pal-pable to bee believed: such a Story wee had once of Mr. *Marshall*, from the same Youngster too, from whom we had this: How hee was mad, and in his Lunacy, curted the Parliament, condemned their Cause, and I can't tell what; how true it prov'd, *Aulicus* own Friends can tell him.

But what cares hee for abusing particular men, when hee sticks not to Father upon the two Counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon*, a confederacy so monstrous, as if they entertain, it will render them the infamy of the *English* Nation; that what could not bee thrust upon the Northern nor North-west Counties, though it was labour'd with all art and Policy: those two that have heretofore shewed themselves the Friends of their Countrey, especially *Devon-shire*, should be so farre blinded, by such known Traytors too as those at *Oxford*, as to admit of it. But I hope the businesse is not gone so farre, but remaines still at the *Oxford* Forge; the projection of Impeached *D'ghy*, or those more elderly Traytors, *Cottington* and *Bristow*. And has proceeded no further then did the gracious Let-

ter of *Violet, Brooke, and Rileys* Majesties. I confesse much may be done by force, where their Tyranny raignes, they may make each Man, or each County speake what they please; for where they are, they are Masters of Purse, Person, Voice, and all; but the hearts of people, which may throb and beat against their Breasts, but dare not be heard further then the inward Closet. I centesse they may by the helpe of some few Officious Gentlemen of the Counties; and others whose Interest depends upon the Court and Prerogative, make the World believe the Counties conspire, or (as they call it, Associate, though the generality of the People doe never so much abominate the thought of such a Trayterous confederacy of such evill example, of such inevitable ruine to their Countrey; what though, be they never so averse and unwilling they shall be thank't for their forwardnesse, as the *Torkshire* Men were for embracing that which they proteste against.

The young Man has endeavoured of late Weeks, to raise disgusts betweene His Excellency and Sir *William Waller*; he has experience it seemes of the ill effects of the Divisions, Quarrellings and sidinges at *Oxford*. 'Tis well known to all men, that the grand Faction there is not unanimous; For though they doe all agree in procuring the Peoples bondage, yet they are made up of severall parties, that have their peculiar interests opposite one to another: amongst which the Popish or *Spanish* is fear'd even by their owne Friends to be most potent. For 1. they are observed to be of chief countenance and prevalency, not onely with the Queen. 2. 'Tis taken notice of, that those who are most opposite to the Popish Faction, are put upon the employments of greatest danger. 3. That though *Ottingtons* profess policy of inviring over the *English* and Protestant *Irish* first, was for the Peoples easier digestion, yet the Lords and other Gentlemen at *Oxford* doe at length begin to smell a further mischief in the businesse; that not only the Catholique *Irish*, but the supplies also of Papists from forraign parts, are purposely by the Popish Counsels detain'd till the Protestants as well of the Kings as the Parliaments Party bee more weakned. These things many at *Oxford* at a stand; especially since they see the Faction to have proceeded so far, and so boldly as to Imprison Marquess *Hamilton*, and the Earle his Brother, whose pretended crimes they see thorough, and begin to feare that when the same Faction shall thinke it convenient to take some of them off, by the like

like *Spanish* stratagemn (a pretence being alwayes at hand) they may receive the reward of their Apostacy against the Parliament, from the hands of their own confederates, at some such convenient place, as *Pendennis* or *Ludlow* Castle.

When certaines Thievs (the residue of what are at *Oxford*) had stole the *French* Ambassadors Plate (for which some have led the way to *Anticns*) the pitifully to seeke *Anticns* blamd the Parliament for not providing that the Ambassadour should not be rob'd; and atwell in this, as in other his Pamphlets, labors to thrust Prince *Harcourt* upon a quarrell with the Parliament; and to draw him to something advantageous to themselves, for which hee is Weekly laying a foundation: 'Tis a strange boldnesse in the Villaine, and a stranger under-valuing the Widome of an Ambassador, to thinke the jarrings and provocations of a loose witted Courtling should mislead him into a Faction. Forbeare such wil'd attempts, and use thy wits to seduce the ignorant and credulous of the People, and yet I need not bid thee. For,

Though you were never without your fine designs, yet you have of late set all wheelles a going, and all braines a working, being sensible of your probable declination by the comming in of the *Scots*.

1. Because you find Peace to be that which all men desire, and which your Party will admit upon any conditions; and that by pretence thereof the People have often beene cheated into Slavery; it was laid that the City should be drawne into a Treaty, not for peace. God knows, yet that was the pretence, but for these ends. 1. To make us fall out amongst our selves. Secondly, to affront the Parliament who were not to be acquainted therewith, or at least not till much people were made to it, and all Articles and Propositions privately prepar'd and agree'd upon. 3. To keep out the *Scots*, who you find so resolved to venter their lives in assistance of their *English* Brethren, that no endeavours of the Kings Agents in *Scotland* could scruple their Resolutions. This Plot wee know hath beene happily discovered, and I hope prevented.

Then the King deals with the Independants, and by intimations of liberty of Conscience, and suggestions that they and other men of tender Consciences will find as hard usage from the Presbyterian Government, as ever they did from the Episcopall; hee fancied a certaine hope, either of giving them to his party, or of

deriding us one amongst another : But 'tis so visible that such proffers are made for self-ends, and the integrity of the Independants to the Parliament is so reall, that that project too is 500. l. worse then naught.

But a further progresse has been made by the well knowne Lord *Lovelace*, who by a secret Messenger, and Letter to Sir *Henry Vane*; did to this effect impart. *That the King having taken notice of him, and others of his Judgment, and conceiving them to bee reall and hearty in their intentions, did promise unto them liberty of Conscience; and that all those Laws that have been made by the Parliament, and all other the Rights and Liberties of the People should inviolably be preserved; of which hee would give what assurance could bee devised: Desiring likewise that either hee or some other by his appointment, would upon safe Convey, treat further of the businesse at Henley, or what other place he thought fit.*

Answer was made, *That hee would advise of the matter with his intimate Friends, and returne a further Answer:* The Friends advi'd withall, were *Mr. Speaker, Mr. St. Johns, M. Browne*, and many other Gentlemen he met withall of the House of Commons, who conceal'd that an Answer of seeming Compliance should bee return'd and a Convey sent for *Mr. Wall*, Chaplaine to my Lord of *Warwicke*, who finding that the utmost of the Designe was onely to entrap Sir *Henry Vane*, by first inviting him to the conference, and then discovering it under-hand, and to render him obnoxious to the mistake and ill opinion of good men: *Mr. Wall* was recal'd and a full Relation of the businesse made to the House of Commons; who gave thanks to Sir *Henry*, for his Wile and faithfull carriage of the matter; and so the Court was again frustrated, and *Lovelace* better inform'd, that his loose *Lorajop* is fitter for a Potation then a Conspiracy.

The Ordinance of *Parliament* providing that the Houses of Delinquents & illaffected persons, shall not be pul'd down or destroyed, but reserv'd for the benefit and use of the Common Wealth, does very much afflict Mr. *Aulicus*: Hee would it seemes, have all confiscations go not to the publike bank, but to your Kings private purse, & be employd not for supply of publike necessities as the Parliament intends them; but for maintenance of Court Revels to bestow on this Dancing Mounsi ur, or that game some sirippling. No Aulicus wee shall teach you Common wealth language, that the Houses of Delinquents to the State, are no longer theifs

But

but the states or Common-wealths, and are to be employ'd for the benefit thereof. And but that your Rebellion enforces the Parliament to convert the money into Armes and Ammunition, they could more comfortably employ it, to raise again those many honest families; the Court oppressions and your necessitating us to continue this war, have well nigh beggered: to clear the prisons of such honest men as their casuall wants brought thither, and to many other publike and pious uses.

He is very angry at some body, that supposed the Ships not to be the Kings Ships, and would be told where they be. Why they are the Common-wealths ships: No he saies the King built them with Ship-money, and the Ships are his Ships, just as Shipmoney is his money: the People they cannot but remember disbursed the money, and the King layed some of it out upon Ships, and therefore the Ships are his Ships. The East Indian Factors may as well say, that the Commodities imported are theirs, because they bought them; wee must distinguish betweene trust and property, whatsoever is the Kings as he is King, is his of trust, not by way of propriety, whereof the true Owner is the Common-wealth.

As the Rebels at Oxford have endeavoured to keep out the *Scotts*, by attempting to make us odious to them, and them odious to us; to Divide us by fomenting dissensions in the City, and mutinies in the Army, to ensnare our firmest friends, &c. so are they likewise providing for their own encrease of strength, by framing a pestilent Association for the Counties of Devon and Cornwall by drawing over the Irish, and inviting other Forraigne Forces; and because they find the bare Authority of the King not to be sufficient to engage other States, who cannot but know the Parliaments of England to be the Supream Power thereof; as including by Deputation the whole People of England and that all leagues and treaties by which States are engag'd to assistance, can of right only be made and so are only valid, when made by Parliament: that only the Parliament can conclude the People, and that whatever league the King makes, is no longer permanent then he holds a strong hand over the the People: That therefore in all likelyhood no State will, regarding the Common Interest of States enter league with a few ambitious persons in open Rebellion against the Parliament or Common-wealth of England: they are hereby necessitated at Oxford to the poore refuge of making a mocke Parliament there: vainely
thinking

thinking to engage the people by them who are Runawaies and Fugitives from the service of the People, and as vainely imagining that States will be deluded by such an Impostor. The confidence of their Wit and Sophistry (by which they find they can mislead the People into a liking of things how unjust soever in themselves) is the principall motive I suppose to the production of that new Monster, they meane to Name a Parliament: But Delusions are not lasting; Couzenage may thrive for a while, till a full discovery be made, and then the Trade falls. What I can doe towards the unmasking of the Traytors, and shewing them to the World, without their Painted Vizors, in their own deformity, the People shall have Weekly; who for this time I bid Farewell.

Had not some hinderance interven'd, this had come forth the last weeke; but now look for a second upon Thursday, and a third upon Tuesday next; and so weekly every Tuesday one.

Printed according to Order, for H. T.

MERCURIUS, &c.not — *Veridicus*,nor yet — *Mutus* ;But — *Cambro* — (or if you please) —honest — *Britannus*.

Communicating such Intelligence as is brought to
him, which he verily believes to be the plain truth ;
without favour or flattery.

From Tuesday the 31. of January, to Tuesday the 6. of February.
1644.



Surely, the judicious eye (I am confident) will never censure me for communicating the truth, without a feigned attribute of glory to a *Momus*, or detraction of worth where it is shewed ; Let every mans owne actions be the blason of his fame : It is ignoble to blemish honour, and as vaine to erect Trophies to cowards.

To be short, my Intelligence in plain truth is this ;

The said Parliament (I mean) the new one, hath wrought strange effects at Oxford. The House of Commons made

B 2

Spec-

100. Sails of
Ships coming
from Scotland
laden with
Coales.
A full Relation
of the Scots
surprising the
Earle of New-
castles House,
that would
have burnt up
the Corn and
Hay in Nor-
thumberland.

Speeches, ~~some~~ of them to the purpose as Sir John Culpepper Mr. Dutton, and others: Who began to search after the Actors and chief producers of the Irish Rebellion, and Propositions were made, for the removing of some notorious Papists from the Court, with other motions of great Consequence; which was spoke so home, that heads were hazarded. For both factions were crossed, which made the Spanish Lords speak as much in private, as the Commoners did in publike; where they so undermined, that all tumbled down, and the blacke rod was shaken to dismisse them both.

Sir Edward Deering, and Mr. Murry of the Bedchamber, are come for London ayre, which is (no doubt) precious to many there who intend to follow; who know no v, that their condition will be exposed to more misery in the Papists mercy then in the justice of the true old Protestant Parliament. The 7. Priests in Newgate found it so; Carpenter the Oxford Spy had been hanged self; Canterbury, Sir John Hotham, ye and Renze too; with hundreds more, could never have found more mercifull Iudges in all the world.

Mr. Porter is offended with the Duke of Cumberland, for endeavouring to advance Lieutenant General Keight of Gloucestershire, for his good service in the execution of the Commission of Aray in that County. But since he distastes him, he had been as good to have stayed at home, for who dare oppose the Spanish faction.

The two Counties of Devon and Cornwall, endeavour to furnish themselves with powder and Ammunition, above 500 barrels of Powder were lately brought in to Exeter, and the Irish in Dorsetshire prepare to strengthen themselves, and therefore the Associated Counties of Kent, Surry, Suffex, and Hampshire, are raising a new power to march towards them, because they love not such ill neighbours.

Some

Some Welch have lately been about Kidderminster, where with the helping hands of some Malignants there, they hoped to carry away some pillage, but were surprized by the Warwickshire Forces, and carried away prisoners, amongst whom are some men of note.

The Lord *Hopton* hath a strong army about Southampton, and it is very probable, that he intends with an additionall supply either from Oxford, or out of the remoter West, to endeavour for Sussex; and therefore Collonell *Brown* is fortifying of Petworth, to prevent them from passing that way.

The taking of the Covenant now begins in a generall way to be done, without connivance; it hath already past the Courts of Justice, the Commissioners will not admit of any Lawyer, except he take the Covenant.

A part of the Earle of Manchesters foot and horse out of Lincolnshire, are joyned with the Lord *Graves* at Melton Mobery, designed as some say, to besiege Newark, but I believe rather, to secure Nottingham, in case the Earle of Newcastle should remove thither, which is very probable he may attempt, if the Scots take Newcastle. But for the storming of Newark, we may lose a whole Army and not take it by storming.

The Lord *Pawlet* hath surprized a party of our men, to the number of fifty foot, which issued out of Lyme upon a designe for the Parliament, to fortifie a house not far from thence; and carried them away prisoners. It is to be feared that Lyme is besiedged, and may want relief, if some speedy course be not taken to help them.

Collonell *Massey* sent out a party from Gloster to Chesham, where they fell upon Collonell *Talbots* quarters, and surprized the Collonell himselfe, Sir *Henry Talbot*, Sergeant Major *Moore*, Captaine *Cocke*, Captaine *Barrey*, Captaine

Seabrooke, and three Reformadoes, three Lieutenants, and above fifty common souldiers; besides a Barge of Sacke Tobacco, and Ammunition; by a Frigat which he sent out by some of his souldiers, but I hope he will be carefull to be ware before he use it, to see that it was not poysoned, and sent him of purpose. (Since which it is reported, he hath given the Enemy an other blow about Malmesbury in the edge of Wiltshire, which is too farre from Gloucester to breed credence.

The great defeat given to the Enemy at the raising of the Siege of Nampwich, is sufficiently related in other Pamphlets, onely thus much I heare since; That many of the English that came out of Ireland have taken the Covenant, the most of Collonell *Moncks* Regiment, and more to the number of some sixe or seven hundred; who joyne with Sir *William Brewerton* against their bloody Generall *Byron*; and and the women, those Irish VVhores (for I am confident they are little better) which were taken, some of them are turned out of Nampwich; but the native Irish the soldiers intend to make them examples.

Ones the Irish Priest (we hear for certain) is advanced to so great dignity at VVeymouth, that Sir *John Strange* (as he hath just cause) doth exceeding much distaste it, himselfe being formerly knowne to be the Governour thereof, and being of late overtopt by an impudent and audacious Irish Rebell, he hath disserted them, and is coming in to the Parliament, to take the benefit of the Declaration.

Garnsey is in a very good condition, and that perfidious revolter Sir *PETER*, is blockt up in his owne Castle, so that his condition is very little or no better, then if he was prisoner elsewhere; for hee remainses there in no better state

state, nor cannot get out, where he may bewaile his treachery to the Island: which he would have betrayed to the enemy.

Jarvis repent their revolt, and the very Malignants themselves there repent, that they were so willing to let in the enemy, for Captaine *Carteridge* the Governour thereof doth impose such heavy taxes upon them, that they are not able to beare it, and yet doth he force their estates from them in great cruelty.

It is reported that the Lord *Hopton* hath layed downe his Commission, and that he is proclaimed traytor at Oxford, and that he hath sent a Petition to desire that he may enjoy the mercy of the Declaration, by his returne to the Parliament, to whom he intends to come in, and take the Covenant, but for the truth of this it is uncertaine, for no such thing is yet come to the Parliament, besides he drawes his forces against Sir *William Waller*, which may make the report multiply, but I could wish that he had so much wit to doe so, and cast himselfe upon the mercy of the Parliament, it may prove better to him then to run on into deeper arrerages.

It is reported also, that the Lord *Capell* hath layen downe his Commission, but it is to crowne his stealing and plundering with the ominous Dukedome of Northumberland, and that bloody *Byron* may play the second part for him, whom we heare is supposed to be in *Boston* Castle. Sir *William Brereton* since his coming to *Nampwich* hath caused execution to passe upon treacherous *Steels*, according to the Iudgement of the counsell of warre.

Munday the Scots Commissioners met in the Princes chamber, and the Parliament took their businesse into consideration, and accord with them in a most glorious, and happy harmony.

The Kings forces are strong about Gasom, above three thousand which drawing night to our forces, caused them to forsake their works, and quit the house; our party being but small, and altogether unable to withstand so great a power, did therefore leave them the bare walls, which the enemy fired: and after they had burnt it downe, retreated.

Colonell Aston the Governour of *Bristol* did lately send out warrants to *Chansome*, *Weeke*, *Purshure*, and those parts adjacent, and summoned in the Gentlemen of the country, and Burgesses of the City to make their appearance, and being assembled before him, he made a glowing speech unto them, wherein he tendered to them six Propositions.

1. To take into their considerations, that Sir William Waller was coming with his forces into those parts, who was one they well knew made no dallying in his works.
2. That Sir William Waller had a great strength, and that there was not strength enough in those parts to withstand them.
3. That if they did not take some timely course, they must expect no otherwise, but that Sir VVilliam VValler would conquer the country, and then their goods and estates he pretended would be taken away by the souldiers: and so through their own negligence they would be undone.
4. That their onely way to find reliefe was, speedily to raise forces both horse and foot, to withstand Sir VVilliam VValler.
5. To hasten the same, and be very active; as also liberal in the assisting as so great, and necessary a worke.
6. That they would all freely, and willingly subscribe, and suddenly send a supply accordingly.

The Gentlemen gave him the hearing, but instead of subscribing, they returned every man to his owne home.

The last newes of credence, that I heare from the Scots is this,

this, that *Sir Thomas Glouster* retreated from *Alnwick* towards Newcastle, first breaking up the bridge, to stop the Scots coming over, but to little purpose: for the Brooke, being fordable in many places, in some it runs very shallow, not above the middle legge: which proved no scruple to the Army. For they make no difficulty in passing it, though very cold and frosty weather there, they marched with great chearefulnesse, and the next day they surpris'd seven troupes of horse, which were scouting thereabouts, but how they dispose of them I doe not heare.

There was a party of horse design'd to burne up the stacks of corne and hay in Northumberland, to hinder the Scots from provision: or at least to streighten their Army therein, but the Alarums of the Scots coming, made them retreat: and the Lord hath kept them back from doing so great a mischeife, and if they had not taken that course for their owne safety, the Scots might have served them as the other seven, which it may be were part of these, and not unlikely.

Sir Iohn Gell begins to enlarge his quarters about *Derby*, *Hastings* is put to his trumps, and playes the aftergame very ill, though he hath made the country poore by robbing, and pillaging them, yet is he not one crosse the richer, he hoped to have gone away with a lump of wealth, but his greedy soldiers will share with him: who can spend it as fast as he can get it: he was in an ill case, when he came to *Asby* only with three men, and glad he could escape so too. The enemy is removed from *Wille* ferry, so that there is passage againe for the country there: and the market mends at *Derby*, only they feare the Earle of Newcastle's retreat that way.

The *Plimouth* ships have lately fallen upon three ships which came from Ireland, and have suncke one of them, the other two they have taken, and in them five hundred Irish:

if.

if the Lord fill us with blessings still so fast, we shall not be able to hold them: we shall overflow.

Farther, *Laurimore* was yesterday taken at the Black-house, coming from *Brainford* by water, with Letters from *Oxford*: a cunning fellow, and one that it is very probable hath done much mischief, he was taken once before, but now he may chance to pay for all. His custome was to passe in the habit of a country-man, and a wallet on his horse back with two or three cheeses, which served him for an excuse, as if all his businesse were to sell cheeses, yesterday being market day at *Brainford*, where he set up his horse, and brought one of his cheeses in his wallet, and came by water for London, but the boar being searched as well as he, in one of the water-mans cushions was found his bundle of Letters: which being dated at Oxford, he was brought to the Parliament, and there examined, and Letters of consequence being found about him, he is like to suffer for it.

On Sunday in the afternoon Master *Simson* preached at *Pauls* Crosse, because he could not be permitted to preach at *Pauls*: and those that heard the tenents of the Antinomians which he taught, cannot blame the Parliament for suspending him.

The Lord *Willowby* of *Parham* is committed to the Black Rod, but it is hoped that there will be a reconciliation, between the Earle of Manchester, and him: and that they will love him the better after this difference.

There is no doubt, but that in few dayes we shall heare of the taking of Newcastle by the Scots, in the mean time they are lading one hundred saile of ships with coales from Scotland, as I am certified by a Sea-man that belongs to one of the Salmon ships, that came last from *Bermick*.

Published according to Order.

Good News 19
FOR
ENGLAND

OR,
A RELATION OF MORE
VICTORIES OBTAINED BY
THE SWEADS, AGAINST
THE KING OF
DENMARKE.

Certified in severall Letters of good Credit, dated at
Hamborough, January, 16 & 19, 1644.



LONDON, 1643
Printed for Robert Bostock, MDCXLIII.





A Relation of the victory, which the

Swedes have had against the King of Den-
markes Forces in Jutland, As wee
have it by Letters of good credit,
from Hamborough, da-
ted, Jan. 16 & 19.



That successe the Swedes have
had in the King of Den-
marks Dominions, you
have heard of it heretofore, I
must acquaint you now
with a further progress they
have made. The Swedish Generall Major
Coningsmarck having quartered for a time
in the Bishopricke of Hildesheim, is now
drawing with his forces into the Bishoprick
of Bremen, the Bishop, who is second sonne
to the King of Denmarke, being fled from
Bremerfend to Stoad, the Swedish forces go
on in taking one place after another in Hol-
stein and Iutland, and setting all under con-
tribution, till frost came, they were kept out
of the marsh grounds, but now they have

possessed themselves thereof, yet was without blows, the peasants in the place called Wilster, had laid two Sconces upon the passage, which were assaulted by the Swedish forces, whom they of Gluekstatt, understanding, sent out a Captain with 100 men to assist them, but coming too late, the Swedes being Master of the first Sconce, the souldiers retired to the other Sconce, to join with them that kept it, but contrary to expectation, they finde that place forsaken by the peasants, so they in good time shifted for themselves, but were taken short, their Lieutenant slaine: This day also wee have news, that the Swedish forces have made themselves master of Ditmarsh, there being some 150 peasants slain, 300 taken prisoners, and some 200 souldiers, that did assist them, have taken service under the Swedes: Wee have likewise newes this day, that the 600 leuied horse of the King of Denmark, which lay in Iutland, having joyned with the Gentry of the Country and Sleswyck being together strong 1600 horse, and foure companies of leauied foot are wholly routed by the Swedes, at a place called Colding, the chiefe
com-

commander taken prisoner, together with
eight captains more, and 400 slaine in the
place, in so much that the King of Denmark
will lose now all on this side the Beldt, and
Gluekstata will run now a great hazard. Wee
We have also news from Sweden by a ship,
that came in eight dayes from thence to Lu-
beck, that they have confiscated all Deanish
goods in that Kingdome, and that Gustavus
Horn was marching with an army of 20000
men into Schoven, which lyes on the other
side of Denmark, insomuch that the King of
Denmark will shortly be forced to say fare-
well Sound, but they that are good Danish
say, that Commissioners of both Kingdoms
are to meet the 15. present at Colmar, to ac-
commodate matters.

A



A COPY OF A LETTER

sent by his Excellencie the Swedish
Generall Torstensohn to Generall
Major Mortagne, bearing date
in the head Quarter Middle-
delfart Sconce, the
14 of Jan.
1644.



Y expedition against the
Danish horse, I have
communicated unto you
in my last letter, where-
upon I presently advan-
ced and sate before the Campe, which they
had pitched here, into which the Danish
horsemen had retired, which having left
there behind them their horses went in
boats over the water, in the Campe a
considerable number both of leaied souldi-
ers, and of the Peasants was drawn to-
gether, and for three or four dayes to-
gether

ther I caused the Campe fiercely to bee
battered with the Cannons, meanwhile
the Danish RIX MARSHALL
ANERTW BILL who was then there,
betooke himselfe with the Cannons, Co-
lours, chiefeſt Officers, and the leaſt
part of the Common Souldiers to Mit-
tleſahrt leaving behinde him in the
Campe the moſt part of the Souldiers, to-
gether with ſome Captaius and under
Officers: But when this day I advanced
with the main ſtrength of my Forces to-
wards it, and the Forces that lay in the
Sconce, ſaw the ſtrength of my Forces,
they threw away their armes, and came
running out of the Camp to meet us, in-
ſomuch that the moſt High God ſhewed
us that favour, that together with a great
part of the Horſmen; we took alſo 4500
foot (amongſt which were a 1000 leavied
Souldiers, which tooke all ſervice under

us) without any losse, onely some few were wounded, amongst which was an Ensigne but the Peasants, which were mounted by the Gentry, were stript by some of our naked Souldiers, and turned home, some of them freely desired to serve under us; being now the Danish Forces are here by for the most part ruinated, and this Conuntry freed and cleered, that by Gods assistance We need not to fear them, that on this side they will do us any hurt, for which fundamentall blow vve ought to give hearty thanks unto God Almighty, The Regiments are novv gone to their quarters, vvhich I thought to communicate unto you, &c.

FINIS.

(1)

Numb. $\frac{20}{1}$.

Mercurius Anglicus.

OR,

A Post from the North:

Communicating his Intelligence to the Kingdome

for the satisfaction of the

PEOPLE.

From *Wednesday* the last of *January*, till *Wednesday* the 7th of *February*.*Wednesday*, last of Jan.

IN the imparting of my Intelligence under the title of a *Mercurius* Post, I know it cannot be expected that my endowments are so perfect as by it to write in a Poeticall dialect, where in not onely every word but every syllable (like the paces of young Gallants) ought to be measured; only I shall be glad that the Reader should conceive of mee, or what is in mee, so much good as to accept and receive in good part a summary relation, or Declaration of such matters as I shall in my owne letters, or such other as is brought to my hands fit to be communicated to the Kingdome, wherein I shall according as occasion serves in my Quotidian discourse, endeavour to bee your Votary.

Amongst the throng of this weekes Intelligence that have crowded themselves into my packet, I finde a frivolous Pamphlet intituled, *Mercurius Anglicus*, which I understand hath heretofore beene very famous at Oxford, and though I will not deny but that over a cuppe of Ale amongst a stupid crew of Papists and Atheists hee might be good company, yet I know that hee would lye damnably: but in regard I observe

A

that

A defeat to the Newarke forces.
An answer sent to the Dukes letter for an accommodation.
Of Prince Ruperts advancing.

that of late he is not so open mouthed as formerly, I have some hopes of his conversion, he tels us how sensible the Members are (for so he termes the Honourable House of Commons) of the benefit of shipping; and I beleve they are as sensible of the want at *Oxford*, and have cause to bewaile the losse of a Barque laden with powder, armes, oyle, salt, &c. which Collonell *Masse* hath tooke lately, when instead of being besieged at *Gloucester* (as the Malignants would have it) he issued forth from thence with about an hundred men in a small Frigot towards *Ludbury* with foure pieces of Ordnance, and tooke not onely the Barque, but an Array Knight, and many of his Complices, and fourescore common soldiers, and meeting with a ship of greater burden set upon her, and thought at the first shee carried her selfe so losly that shee spent a broad side in the ayre, yet was shee afterwards glad with all speede to betake her selfe to the assistance of the winde, and by hoyling sayle fly for succour, for otherwise in all likely-hood hee had taken her also, *Aulicus* tells us of a party of sixteene horse going from *Tosseter*, and facing of a troope of our horse neare *Northampton*, and of some famous acts done there. Truly *Aulicus* I must confesse ingeniously that I partly believe that some famous act was done there lately, else the Cavalliers would not all have runne away from thence after they had kept the Towne so long, and fortified it, I will not insist any longer in confuting *Aulicus* least I breake forth into satericall lines, and prove irksome to the Readers patience, but surely hee might have written more attractively to the people, if hee had omitted his blasphemous lynes concerning prayer and preaching, and have told us of Prince *Rupert* and two troopes of his horse comming to Church at *Broadway* on Sunday was seven-night, which occasionally presenting it selfe in this place to my memory by some expresse out of *Worcestershire* was occasioned upon the businesse following, viz. A welch post comming with some dispatches towards *Oxford*, was for some houres unfurnished with a fresh horse at *Broadway*, and upon his complaint thereof, Prince *Rupert* came the next Sabbath (the people being assembled in the Church) with two troopes of horse, and demanded one *Thomas Treavis*, and foure or five more to be delivered to him prisoners, which being done, they were forthwith carried to *Oxford*.

There was this week a Message from the house of Commons sent to the house of Peeres, wherein they desired their Lordships to joyne with them in an Ordinance for the recruiting of his Excellencies Army, and for the meeting

meeting of the Scots Commissioners concerning the affairs of the Scots army being advanced, which was consented unto accordingly.

A Trumpeter was this day brought to the Parliament which came with letters from *Oxford*, directed to the Earle of *Essex*, and subscribed by the Prince and Duke of *Torke*, which amongst other things, seemed to declare a desire of an accommodation and cessation of arms, one motive being grounded upon the comming in of a forraigne nation, which letters were referred to a Committee to consider of, that a speedy answer might be given thereunto.

Thursday the first of February.

AN auncient writer saith that wee ought to make an honest passage into each part of our speeches, at this passage me-thinkes I heare a voyce calling upon every man this day carefully to humble himselfe before God by prayer and fasting, it being a principall meanes for the diverting the present evils that are upon us, in this place I should remember how solemnly the Fast was celebrated at *Westminster* by the honourable houses of Parliament, but because mention hath beene made thereof by some that wrote before me, I shall leave that, for as neare as I can I intend not to put my sickle into another mans harvest: this calls to minde the solemnization of a day of thanksgiving kept at *Chichester* for the great victories obteyned by Sir *William Waller* in those parts, whereby the whole County of *Sussex* is cleared of the enemy, and particularly for that during the siege at *Arundel*, Sir *Ralph Hopton* came and faced that City with all the forces he could make both horse and foote, and after hee had founded his trumpets and beate up his drums to summon the City, hee presently marched againe from thence without so much as shooting one peece against it, and now Sir *Williams* horse are most of them quartered thereabouts, and the enemy not within twenty miles of them, and are not a little afraid of his forces, for I remember not long since when Sir *Ralph Hoptons* forces were drawn forth against Sir *William Wallers*, and forced as much as could be by the *Hoptonian* Commanders to fight, they ranne away and said that they were as good goe against walls of brasse, for his men were so bravely armed (which they wanting) durst not fight with them, little good therefore is that Commission granted him from *Oxford*

like to doe for the pressing of 18000. men in *Dorsetshire & Devonshire*, for thereby the Parliament is like to get no small advantage, because for the most part they stood well affected to the Parliament, and though it was with the same as in other parts of the Kingdom, that through a timorous feare they were wanting in declaring themselves in actuall service, till they have suffered the losse of all they have by the merciless usage of the Cavaliers, yet now perceiving that they could no longer continue as Newtters, but that all from 16. to 60. were to assist Sir *Ralph Hopton* against the Parliament, a great number of the same repaired for refuge and safety, as also to doe service for the Parliament, as *Lyme and Poole*, which Townes stand for the Parliament, so these Townes are not onely the better able to defend themselves, but to annoy the enemy, and commands are going downe thither for the putting of them into such a posture as may most conduce to the good of the Kingdom.

Friday the 2.

FROM *Milton Mowbery*, they write that the forces there under the Command of Sir *Iohn Gell* have joyned with the Earle of *Manchester* forces and have not onely driven the Cavaliers out of the parts adjacent, but intend suddenly to make an assault upon *Newark* upon Trent, they being in all about 5000. foote and 2000. horse, the truth of the first part of this relation is the rather to be credited: for that the Carriers of *Milton Mowbery* came the last weeke to *London*, which for divers monethes before were hindered by the Cavaliers. It remains that according to my Diemcall discourse, I speak somewhat of that Intelligence which happily came to our hands this day, being the most remarkable of any that hath passed our hands for many weekes together, the substance whereof hath in part bene already related: but many things therein are so observable, that it cannot but invite the Attendants of all well affected persons to be further informed concerning the truth and particulars thereof: and therefore I hold it not losse of time to give a further relation thereof so farre as hath bene added thereto since our first advertisement of the same: For Sir *William Brewerton* himselfe hath not onely ratified the truth of that grand victory, but hath advertised the Honorable house of Parliament under his owne hand, that about 2400. of the

the enemy were slain and taken prisoners, there were at least 100. killed and taken in the Forrest, and most of the Commanders were forced to flye into *Alton Church*, where they were all taken. We heare likewise that most of the common souldiers haue taken the Couenant, and are ready to take up Armes for the Parliament, the which I am the rather induced to credit, for that I am assured of certaine knowledge, that they were at the first taking up of Armes, very hardly seduced & drawne to fight against them. And if there were 500. of the Kings olde Souldiers that were Sir *William Wallers*, tooke at *Alton*, and almost every one of the thousand men which were taken at *Arundell*, that did willingly take up Armes for the Parliament, as is undenyable: I know not, but in all probability, these should doe the like, especially at this time when they see the cause not onely prosper in a miraculous manner, but our Brethren of *Scotland* come to ioyne with us, for the rooting out of Idolatry, and making of us free-borne Subjects, which hath caused most of the *Scottish* Commanders in his Majesties Army to lay downe their Commissions, and the Assembling of certaine Popish Lords at the Anti-parliament at *Oxford*: And for the small appearance and division amongst them, was adourned the first day. Sir *Edward Deering*, a man of singular Wit and Learning, hath revolted from them (being formerly a Member of the House of Commons) and on Friday last came to *London* to make his peace with the Parliament being as himselfe declareth, thouroughly convinced of the dangerous designs at *Oxford*.

Maister *Conningham* a servant in Ordinary neere to his Majesty, and some others of note, came from *Oxford* to *London* the last weeke, and very shortly, we doubt not, (except *Oxford* be made a close prison, it being already little lesse) but that diuerse other Gentlemen of quality will doe the like: For we are informed of a truth, that by reason of the late Assembly, which some of them are ashamed to consult with, besides the illegality of it, the eyes of their vailed vnderstandings are opened: for it is an old Maxime, that Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion: And no History or Chronicle before 1641. can tell us, that the Commons of *England* ever fought against their iust Liberty and Priviledges, and it dayly appeares, how justly they are punished that wilfully seeke to bring them into bondage: for to leaue former examples, the perfidious Governors of *Beefton Castle* being lately taken in *Ceshaire*, hath the last weeke received the iust reward of his meritts.

Saterday the 3.

IN this days intelligence I muſt not forget the great deliverance of the Parliament forces at Nottingham, for the Earl of Newcaſtles forces coming againſt that town, were beaten back from thence with loſſe, the particular thereof being envolved in an Ordinance of Parliament made this day for a thankſgiving the next Sabbath for that and other bleſſings. I ſhall reſerre my ſelfe for the better ſatisfaction of the people to the reecyall of the ſaid order in *hac verba*.

Die Veneris, 2. February, 1643.

IT is this day ordered that publicke thanks be given unto God in all the Churches of London, Weſtminſter, Suburbs, and within the bill: of Mortality upon the next Lords day for his great goodneſſe in ſending ſo ſeaſonably to our ayd our brethren of Scotland, and in giving ſo great and absolute a victory unto the forces for the Parliament neere Nantwich in Chelſhire, and the great deliverance of the gariſon of Nottingham, and that Copies of this Order be ſent forthwith to the L. Major of the City of London, and to the Committees of the Suburbs who are to ſee this Order for the publicke thankſgiving be diſperſed accordingly, and that the names of ſuch Miniſters as ſhall reſuſe to obſerve the ſame be returned to this Houſe.

Hen. Elſing. Cler. Parl. Dom: Com:

Taken neare Nantwich January 25. when the ſiege was raiſed.

5. Collonels.
2. Lieutenant Collonels.
1. Major.
14. Captaines.
10. Lieutenants.
26. Enſignes.
2. Quartermasters.
2. Cornets,
40. Drummes.
41. Sergeants.
63. Corporals.
22. Cullers.
1. Chaplaine.
1500. Common ſouldiers.
6. Ordnance.
6. Pieces, 5. of Braſſe.

Slaine about the Towne.

Five hundred, whereof one Lieutenant Collonell.

4. or 5. Captaines.

And many other Officers, with Lieutenant Collonell Vane & many others, without the loſſe of one Officer, and not twenty ſouldiers.

At Nottingham ſlaine of the enemies forces 200. and taken prisoners foureſcore, with loſſe onely of one Boy of the Gariſon.

Monday

Monday the 5.

Amongst other matters of great concernment, one businesse that is in agitation in the high Court of *Parliament* is the settling of a way for the paying of the forces under Sir *William Waller*, out of the excise. An answer is sent to the Princes and Duke of *Yorkes* letter before mentioned, directed to the Earl of *Essex*, whereby those at *Oxford* may understand the just proceedings of the *Parliament*, and how inclynable they are to peace, so far forth as may stand with the good and welfare of the Kingdome and preservation of our Religion, which is most neare unto us, but untill the Trumpeter which was sent with this Message be returned, it is not thought fit that the Trumpeter which brought the first should returne to *Oxford* as yet, by reason of the contrariety of the windes, we are frustrated in our expectation of a Post from *Newcastle*, against which (if not in the Towne) it is certaine the Scots Army is, and though for the reason aforesaid, I doubt whether I shall give such plenary satisfaction this week of their whole proceedings as is expected, yet I hope in the next weekes Intelligence the Reader will receive treble satisfaction therein, for doubtlesse those souldiers, which after 18. miles march in the snow, were so courageous that they at night leaped and jumped before their Generall, saying, that if hee thought it requisite they would march as far the next day, and are in motion, and will render a good account of their actions.

Tuesday the 6.

THere was a Petition and humble submission of Sir *Edward Deering* was read in the House of Commons, wherein hee makes an humble acknowledgment of his owne weakenesse &c. and deserring the *Parliament*, declaring his unhappinesse therein, and how thoroughly he was convinced of the justnesse of the cause, and his desire to live and dye with them.

By letters out of *Lincolneshire* it was this day certified, that on Wednesday last the *Parliaments* forces fell upon 200 horse and 100 dragoons of the *Newarks* forces at *Grantham*, and that the chiefe Commanders of the *Newarks* forces got into a strong house of built stone, whereby they got no final advantage to defend themselves for the present, and by reason that a greater supply was expected, for this time they escaped, only about fifty of their horse and men were taken prisoners by the *Parliaments* forces, & the next day Collonel *King* sent out a party of horse, who met with some

some Carriers going to *Newarke*, laden with ayde and assistance for the enemy, with about 600. pounds in money, which is like to be employed for the use of those that intend to see *Newarke* quickly, notwithstanding it is informed us that Prince *Rupert* intends to advance that way shortly.

The newes out of *Buckinghamshire* is, that about 2 troopes of the Cavalliers on Sunday last came to *Wickham*, whereby an alarum was given to great *Missinden*, which Towne presently stood upon their guard, and although they have not any fortifications, yet the enemy never durst make any assault against it, unlesse it were for the plundering of a farm house about a mile off.

This day produced little newes of any consequence, for there came few letters by any Posts out of the Countrey, and the House sate in severall Committees, only this, that a great number of Lawyers and Gentlemen tooke the Covenant, & are resolved to live and dye with the *Parliament*, and five troopes of horse came out of *Essex* yesterday to *London*, which are to goe forth for the service of the *Parliament*.



FINIS.

Printed according to Order for T. B.

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Numb. 42.

K. P. London

THE KINGDOMES VVeekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From Tuesday the 30. of January, to Wednesday the 7. of Febr. 1644.

ON Tuesday the 30. of January last a Trumpeter came from Oxford with a Letter from the Earle of Forth Generall of his Majesties forces, to the E. of Essex, L. Generall &c in that Letter was a parchment inclosed, directed to the E. of Essex, subscribed by Charles Prince, Duke of York, Duke of Cumberland (the first title for him, except it were Prince of Planden-land) commonly called Prince Rupert, and by divers Lords and Gentlemen, adding also the great order, the Lord Iermin was subscribed: The Letter did signifie that his Majestie had by his Proclamation summoned the Members of both houses of Parliament to meet at Oxford, that in obedience therunto they had met (so by that they esteeme themselves to be the Parliament) and resolved to send this Letter to the Earle of Essex to move him to use the best power and interest he had with ~~those~~ that do employ him (it seems they scorned to name the Parliament that doth employ him) to get propositions to be sent to Oxford for a peace, and they should have all assistance from them that possibly they could give.

This Letter alsoone as my Lord Generall received it, intimated to the two houses of Parliament, that he had received a Writing in parchment from Oxford, but did not know whether it was fit for the houses to

A trumpeter from Oxford with a message to his Excellencie.

Contents of the message.

Receipt of the message.

be acquainted with it, upon this both houses appointed a Committee to view it, who found it to be to the effect above written, but the Houses themselves scorned to receive or take notice of such a thing, but left my Lord Generall to send such an answer as his Excellency in his wisdom should thinke fit.

His Excellencies
Answer.

Whereupon his Excellency in answer to the *Oxford* Letter and parchment, sent them backe the *Nationall Covenant*, and the Declaration set forth by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, signifying the causes of their coming into *England*, and also the Declaration lately passed by the Kingdom of *Scotland* and the Parliament of *England*, giving time till the first of *March* next for Delinquents to repent and returne to the Parliament: And withall his Excellency writ unto them, that if they had not the grace to returne by that time he would spend his deereest blood but he would bring them to justice.

Lady Aubeny.

A Letter from her to the Earle of Bedford

That you may see what correspondency this publique Messasse had with private negotiations, the Lady *Aubeny* (who is excellent good at leaping) writ a Letter dated 22. of *January* last to the Earle of *Bedford*, of the contents of this Messasse, beseeching his Lordship to use his utmost interest, to put on Propositions for Peace (it seemes her Ladyship thought his Lordship was admitted into the house of Peeres againe) for that it would be a most welcome thing to *Oxford* (they should not wish scorn then have rejected the Propositions sent this time twelve month by the Parliament) and he should not want friends to second it; and that it would be a meanes to uphold his Lordships reputation at *Oxford*, which otherwise would be under a cloud.

Forraigne Letters intercepted of dangerous contents.

Earle of Antrim, & Daniel O'neale agents in Ireland to bring over 10000. Irish.

By Letters intercepted from beyond Sea, directed to *Digby* and *Nicholas*, his Majesties Agents write, that by reason of the Swedes entering *Denmarke*, and the great overthrow given them lately by the Swedes where some thousands of horse and foot, were taken prisoners and slain, the affaires to advantage the Kings Designs, against the Parliament were at a stand; and therefore unlesse the King of *Spain*, by the help of the *Spanish Fleet*, do supply the King of *England* with moneys by paying *Ireland* to the King of *Spain*, he was in a lost condition.

And in all likelihood, by the Intelligence we have from *Oxford*, his Majestie intends to go into *Ireland* to his most beloved Subjects the *Irish Rebels* (for they are by his Majestie termed Subjects and more countenanced by both their Majesties then any Protestants) the Earle of *Antrim*, and *Daniel O'neale* being both of them employed by one or both

both their Maiesties into *Ireland*, to fetch over *ten thousand* Popish and naturall Irish Rebels.

If they at *Oxford* be truly sensible of the great and potent Army of the *Scots*, who are by or before this time in *Newcastle* or *Durham* (and so by consequence the North of England got from the Popish party) And if they be sensible of the great defeat given by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and Sir *William Brereton* to his Majesties *Irish Army* in *Cheshire*, where fifteen hundred Commanders and Common Souldiers were taken prisoners, besides what lay dead on the place, with five great brasse Cannon, and one of Iron, and two and twenty Colours, it will make them at *Oxford*, I meane the Parliament *Wood-bee*, to begin to repent that ever they signed such a scornfull Letter to the Lord Generall, in derision of the Parliament at *Westminster*, now to recrate this great defeat given unto the bloody Lord *Byron* (who ran away and left his Souldiers to the mercy of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* (who in justice to requite *Byrons* bloody action in putting Colonell *Ashtons* Souldiers to the sword, might likewise have put all those to the sword) they at *Oxford* are sending the Prince to *Wales* to raise men, and receive the Irish that are to land:

A present
Army

A great
defeat.

If the Cavaliers likewise consider how *Newmarke* is close besieged, and their forces beaten from *Nottingham*, and the brave execution done on them by Colonell *Massey*, in other places, unlesse their consciences be hardned beyond repentance, surely they will humble themselves in milder Letters and Language.

That you may the better judge of the persons Assembled in a Parliamentary way at *Oxford*: I will give you their Names, and of some of them a Character; and first of the Commons (for they sit above the Lords, an ill omen for the Nobility.)

John Fettiplace.

Sir Alex. Denton.

Sir Jo. Packington.

Sir Tho. Smith.

Fra. Gamul.

Jo. Harris.

Jos. Jane.

Rich. Edgecombe.

Jona. Rashley.

George Faine.

Peirce Edgecomb.

VWilliam Glanville.

Ro. Hoborn. (*the Apostate*.)

Ric. Sydenham.

Fra. Godolphin.

Dr. Geo. Parey.

Am. Mannaton.

Sir Ri. Vivian. *alias P. de l'Amour.*

Jo. Polewhele, *a Learned Lawyer.*

Jo. Arrundell.

Thomas Lower.

(.) Ned. Hide.

VWilliam Allestree.

Sir Geo. Stonehouse.

Edward Seymour.

Peter Senthill.

Sir V Tilliam Poolr.

Roger Mathew.

Ric. Arrundell.

Rob. Valker.

Sir James Strangways.

Giles Strangways.

Sir Tho. Heale.

George Napper.

(.) Doctor Turner.

VWilliam Constantine.

Henry Killigrew.

Richard King.

John Dutton.

Henry Brett.

VWilliam Chadwell. *Ho-*
borns Convent.

Sir: Theobald Gorges.

Jo. George, (*per dures*.)

Sir Tho. Fanshawe.

Humphrey Cognisbie.

Richard Seaborne.

Ar. Ranulagh. *alias Jones.*

Tho. Tompkins. *the brave*
Orator.

Sr Sampson Evers, *the famous*
Lawyer.

Sir

Sir Iohn Culpeper.
 Iefrey Palmer.
 Sir Iohn Harrison.
 Thomas Fanshawe.
 Sir Roger Palmer.
 Olando Bridgeman (*good
parts misused*) ✓
 William Watkins (*Patentee*)
 Iohn Smith.
 Sir Thomas Bludder (*never
sate in Parliament.*)
 Sir Edward Littleton. ✓
 Sir Harvy Baggow
 Sir Richard Leveson.
 Sir Richard Cave.
 Richard Weston.
 Sir Richard Lee.
 Sir Thomas Whitmore.
 Edward Acton.
 Ralph Goodwin.
 Thomas Howard.
 Thomas Littleton. ✓
 Sir Robert Howard.
 Sir John Menax.
 Matthew Davies.
 Sir Fre. Cornwallis.
 Thomas Jermaine.
 Iohn Taylor.
 William Baffer.
 Sir William Portman.
 Sir Edward Rodney.
 Thomas Hanham.

Edward Phillips.
 John Digby.
 (· ·) Edward Kirton.
 Ch. Lukener (*Patentee*)
 Sir Edward Alford.
 John White.
 John Ashburnham.
 William Smith.
 Thomas Leeds.
 William Pledhall.
 Robert Hide.
 Sir Edward Griffin.
 Sir Walter Smith.
 George Lowe.
 Richard Harding.
 Sir Henry Harbert. ✓
 (· ·) Endimion Porter (*Custis
sigilli.*)
 Samuel Sandys.
 Iohn Bodeville.
 William Morgan. ✓
 William Thomas. ✓
 Iohn Mostyn. ✓
 Henry Bellasis.
 Sir George Wentworth.
 William Mallory.
 Richard Aldbrough.
 Iohn Salisbury. ✓
 VWilliam Herbert. ✓
 VWilliam Price. ✓
 Sir Iohn Price: *per dures.* ✓
 Charles Price.

Philip VVarwicke, *Clarke of* Harb. Price. ✓
that Parliament. John VVhistler.
 Thomas Cooke.

You see here a hundred and fifteen in number, a hundred of which have been expelled the house of Commons, above this twelve month, some being actused of high Treason, others for levying of war against the Parliament, and Kingdome: As you see what manner of persons most of these are, so you see the smallnesse of their number in respect of all those that were called by writ to this Parliament: And *Aulicus* may be ashamed, and so may the penners and contrivers of his Maiesties Declarations, and Proclamations, who have so falsely avowed in Print so often to the world, that above three parts of the house of Commons, adhere to the Councells at Oxford: This will more evidently appeare by the Declaration and Covenant, reprinting, with the names of the Members of the house of Commons, that have taken and subscribed the Covenant: where (as I am informed) two hundred twenty seven have taken it in the house, and about 50. are imployed by the Parliament, who have expressed their resolution to take it.

And least the world should thinke their Parliament of Lords is so considerable at Oxford; I will give you their names also: Beginning with:

<i>Cumberl. alias Rupert.</i>	E. Leicester.	E. Kingston.
<i>Littleton.</i>	E. Northon.	E. Newport.
(:) <i>Cottingham.</i>	E. Devonshire.	E. Portland.
<i>Duke Richmond.</i>	E. Carle.	V. Conway, perproxy.
<i>M. Harford.</i>	(:) E. Bristol.	(:) L. Digby.
E. Lindsey.	E. Barkeshire.	L. Matrevers.
E. Dorset.	E. Cleveland.	L. Wentworth.
E. Shrewsbury: Papist.	E. Rivers: Papist.	L. Cromwell.
E. Bath.	E. Dover.	Padget.
E. Southton.	E. Peterbrough Infant.	Chandos.
		Jermaine.

He

Her Maiestie no doubt was well pleased with these Lords, from the last to the first. By the end of this week, you shal see in Print a list of the Nobility residing here in Parliam. who have taken the Covenant, persons of more honour and worth then those at *Oxford*; who are resolved not to lay down Armes till these Delinquent Lords be brought to punishment.

Some fruit of the late Declaration of both Kingdomes giving time to these in Armes, or Assisting against the Parliament, to come in by the first of *March*, appears by Sir, *Edward Deerings* deserting the Cavaleers, and submitting himself to the Mercy of Parliament, who is to have the benefit of the Declaration of pardon, as soon as his Petition is read, for every one that comes in by vertue of that Declaration, must petition the Parliament, and thereby claim what is promised by that Declaration, which both Houses cannot denie them.

The reason of this deserting the Popish Cavaliers, he declares to be this, That whatsoever resolution or advice the Nobilitie and Gentry had taken, and given to his Majesty to follow, he from time to time was led the contrary way, by a secret juncto, of Popishly affected Councell, who continually crossed the designs of the Moderate partie about the King. That thereupon he laid down his Commission in the *Nov.* last, being Captain of a Troop of Horse, and hath ever since been under a cloud, especially, for advising his Majesty to shew some marke of disfavour upon the Papists, and not to put them in trust in places of such concernment as he doth. Hee saith, If he must take up Arms for the Parliament, hee desires to serve under the Earl of *Essex*; and that he told them at *Oxford*, If they offered to sit there as a Parliament, he wish'd they might be blown up with Gunpowder.

The Malignants report, That Sir *Ed. Deering* came a-

way in discontent; because the King would not Prick him
sheriff of *Kent*, nor make him Dean of *Canterbury*, nor ad-
mit him to sit in Parliament at *Oxford*, Sir *Ed. Deering* is so
full of Ingenuitie, as he will suddenly in print wipe off these
scandalls, and not be ashamed to say, he hath offended, in
adhering to the Cavaliers.

There is Newes come, that 2000. *Irish* Rebels are landed at *Chester*,
to assist the English Souldiers that came over formerly, and were late-
ly defeated by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and Sir *William Brumton*. This
discovers Her Majesties Intentions plainly, to advance Popery, and
destroy the Protestant Religion; For first all the English Army must be
brought over hither, the better to give opportunity to the bloody *Irish*
Rebels to Cut the throats of the Protestants there, and to joyne those
Forces so brought over with the Popish armies here in this Kingdome,
against the Protestants; And secondly, That the *Irish* Rebels, having
seduced the Protestants there, may the more conveniently come over
hither, Ten thousand are designed for coming over before the first of
March. It is reported, the Parliament Ships have taken two *Irish* ships
with Souldiers; and sunk one ship, I referre you to the letters to that
purpose.

There cannot chuse but strange reports goe abroad, about some di-
vision between some Members of both Houses, and also in the Citie, It
is possible, that some at home may endeavour to doe that which the
enemy abroad cannot doe, If there be any such, time will discover it;
but the wisdom of Parliament hath almost composed these differences,
and more firmly united us together. The matter of greatest concern-
ment which hath fallen out this week, is about the setting a Council of
State, consisting of Lords, Commons, &c. of the Scots Commissioners;
The power intended was too large. It is referred to a Committee to se-
tle, and agree of such a power as is fit to be given to that Committee; this
Com. once settled, Then Propositions goe unto His Majesty from both
Kingdoms: Since the last expresse from *Scot.* no messenger is arrived
from the Scots army: but without question they are in *Newcastle*, or
Durham, which is 12. miles nearer; for there is no passage to hinder
their march to *Durham*; the enemy having quit *Alnwick*; & *Morpeth*,
upon the advance of the Scots army towards those places, at some af-
firm that came through the enemies quarters this last week, & that on
saturday last was 7 night, the Scots were within 12. miles of *Newcastle*,
at *Morpeth*.

Printed according to Order, for G.B. and R.W.

Thursday Anti-Aulicus. 8th Feb.

1643.

Discovering weekly the Policies, Deceits, and erroneous Maximes of the Court: and informing the people of their interest, and of whatsoever he conceives will advantage the same, as *Aulicus* shall give occasion in his Weekly Pamphlet.



Like a Prodigall that hath spent himselfe and his meanes, so dejected was the Court the last weeke, as usually those are whose bravery of minde arises not from the goodnesse of their cause, but their strength & present successe; which falling, they themselves fall with it. Inasmuch that *Aulicus* hath bene so pur too this weeke to invent matter to keepe up the spirits of his people (who hee findes are comming about) that like a man eene ready to sinke, hee catches at straws and feathers to uphold himselfe.

He hath spent the best part of a side of his owne sheete *Mercury*, in relating a notable victory obtained in *Northamptonshire* over Capitaine *Lawson* and his great feather, you shall have the whole story: Sixteene horse from *Towcester* (hee saies) approached neare *Northampton* from whence Capitaine *Lawson* drew out 2 Troopes to face them: In which posture standing awhile, one of the 16. set upon Capitaine *Lawson*, saying, oh Capitaine *Lawson* is your worship there! (having prevailed by signes) it seemes with the two troopes to stand still all the while) At which terrible words Capitaine *Lawson* fled (hee saies) and being pursued by the same man (the 2 troopes still standing with their hands in their pocket) was slaine, and his feather taken from him, and so the 16. horse returned to *Towcester*, and the 2 troopes into *Northampton*, the battell ended. I should not mention so slight & ridiculous a Fable, but that *Aulicus* friends

may thereby see how low driven the Court is, when they are faine to have recourse to so grosse a one as this, making so little too for their owne advantage.

The Parliament (though his insolence be pleased to call them by another name) have reformed the Clergy and Churches (he saies) by persecuting the one, and defacing the other. Me thinks, since he hath so good information from *London*, hee cannot but know that the persecutions of the Ministers he speakes of, were some for common drunkennesse, loosenesse of life, adultery, yea buggery, some for seditious and rebellious provocations of the people against those they have chosen, some because they preached Popery and superstition into the flexible peoples hearts, and others because they preach not at all, but receiving the profits, neglected the duties for which they were allotted: as if they had beene borne onely to eat, drinke, and play. If to punish such crimes so gently too, as onely by a removall of the Delinquents, and taking from them the opportunity of doing more mischief, be to persecute. Thieves and murderers by the same rule are not justly punished but persecuted, the assizes and sentences of the Law may as well be called persecution. And *Anticus* when hee shall receive the just reward of his trayterous libelling against the Parliament, may with like reason be said to be persecuted.

And then for his defacing of Churches, that is, in our English, their famous Organs at *Pauls* (as hee reverently calls them) are taken downe, their Altars, Crucifixes, and devout Candlesticks are removed. The Churches in *Edward the 6.* time were just so defaced when they were cleared from the trumpery of Popery. Their superstitious pictures, glasse windowes, and all other resemblances of, and approaches to Popery are expeld our Church: the pompous outside Worship, pleasing onely to the inconsiderate sort of men, and such as lived by it, is discountenanced, and all other gayish Ceremonies which the Apostles neither had, nor gave command for.

But the man charges us yet further, and saith we slander Gods Anointed, and who should that be but the Queene. Where we are to take notice that we have one Anointed more then we knew of. But to the slander. The Commons of *England* taking into thought the many ill offices shee had done this Kingdome, and amongst the rest her going over Sea with the Crown Jewels, to buy arms, and hire souldiers for the advance of the Rebellious army now on foot, her Tampering with forraigne States, &c.

were

were pleased to impeach her of high Treason. Now the Lords the day hee mentions, sent to the house of Commons to desire them to hasten their charge, and make good their impeachment, which this *Aulicus* calls slandering of the Queen. 'Tis a fine new language the Court speaks, that what this Nation was wont to call execution of Justice, they stile persecution, reformation with them is defacing, and a just accusation, slander.

He tells us of a new Scale for the Court of Wards, and that the keeper thereof is *Cottingham*, the new made L. Treasurer at *Oxford*, and Master of the said Court. I am glad yet that they discover themselves by carrying matters so grossely foule, that such a known Incendiary, & Spanish Pensioner should be pitched upon as the fittest man for such offices as those. The Councel was much overseene in the action. Every man will now discern what faction is most prevalent, when the great Offices of the Kingdome are so bestowed; and conclude the justnesse and necessity of the Parliaments demands in their 19. Propositions. And here it is but meet, that all people take notice that whatsoever is done at the pretended Court of Wards at *Oxford*, by *Cottingham* the Imaginary Master of that Court, under the new and counterfeit Scale, is in reason void, and no way avallfull for any person, the true Court, Mr. Scale, and other sub-officers remaining here at *London*.

Aulicus has weekly laboured with one invention which hee conceives will be of great use to withdraw the peoples hearts from assisting & concurring with the Parliament. And that is, hee doth weekly personate a man distressed in conscience, lunaticke in desperation, tormenting himselfe at his end for taking up armes against the King: 'tis an old practise this of the Jesuite and Romish Priest to worke upon the imaginations of the simple people. His every weekes Pamphlet is furnisht with a story of this nature, only varied, for more credite sake, into severall formes, and fitted with such circumstances as he thinkes are most mooving. Mr. *Marshall* was once the subject of this Fable, then Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Henry Ludlow*, Mr. *Beuple of Barnstable*, and many others. This weeke (suspecting their condition to be ruinous, and their downfall probable) he was faine to begger a couple of these Fictions. one of Mr. *John Perkins* of *Southampton*, and the other of *Richard Whitehead* of *Portsmouth*, the first he makes to kill himselfe, the second to dye in a distraction, crying commonly before his death, *King, King, Traitor, Traitor, damned, damned, damned*, and the better to make these tales passe for currant, he uses such expressions as these, as I am certainly advertised; As those that attend him are

ready to witnesse. As many will testifie upon oath and thelike : In what fictions are confidetable, the motives thereunto, which were, the credulity of the people he directs them to, and the impression that such gally Fables, he thinks will leave in the minds of his Readers, 1. The slight ground for beliefe ; hee saies hee was advertised ; it may be by one of his owne companions, aningle that he sets apart to coyne such stories, as those that attend him are ready to witnesse, (how do wee know that) as many will testifie upon oath, Knights of your Post perhaps, and such youngsters as do scruple as little to sweare a lye, as he ro tell one. But *Aulicus* has cast up his games, the people devoted to me saie he, will believe it, none or very few can disprove me, and what matters it for a few : Those that live at the place, know this indeed to be a Forgery, but what of that, peradventure my booke will never come amongst them, and no body will trouble themselves to enquire after the businesse. &c therefore goe abroad pamphlet, thou mayst safely be a lying spirit in the eares of the people, for which thy Master shall be highly preferred (I hope so in time) In the mean while I desire that all men hereafter be provided against the assault of such piercing lyes, and scorne those wicked men, and that cause that can make use of such base and dishonest means to support the fading hopes of their declining Fortunes.

Part of the Rebels army in the West, whether in vexation at the great blow they have lately received, or in hope to terrifie our friends into their faction, I know not but the Rebels as I said, brake out into an open firing of the Countrey, beginning with a very faire house of Sir *Walter Earles*, which the valiant Governour of *Pease*, (Lord *Craford* knowes who I mean) taking notice of, to terrifie them from going on, by way of retaliation, having indeed no other way to prevent their firing designe, burnt downe one *Turberville's* house, a man in actuall rebellion against the Parliament, and further sent the Rebels army word, that if they proceeded to firing, he would leave them not a house in any part that was within his power. This somewhat abated the heat of the Rebels fury, and made them begin to bebinke themselves that there was no proceeding in a mischief that they saw would be repaid upon their own heads ; And that if they should goe on, their fellow Rebels burning of *Brimingham*, *Banbury*, *Frugerton* house, &c. would be calld to minde againe, and perhaps put upon their score, and therefore for the present they desisted.

He saies the Members can satisfie their consciences as long as they have the fortune to surprize his Majesties Forces in their beds. Alas aday that they

they should sit so late at it over night, as to be catched before they were up in the morning. I hope it was not over early but that the good Gentlemen before they were taken by others, came to themselves. Let's see who they were. *Sir Nicholas Byron*, *Sir Richard Willis*, two or three Officers more of *Capts* army, with almost a hundred common souldiers. *Anthon* himselfe tells us of so much, and tis well knowne he must have allowance. But hee hath dealt so much the more ingeniously with us in confessing so many, because he addes that *Lord Byron*, as hee heares, has made a sufficient recompence, and so he saies we shall hear the next week. Yes we have heard againe and againe, and we know by this you have heard too, what the recompence is, 8. Officers of a higher forme, 14. Captaines, 19. Lieutenants, 26. Ensignes, 1700. Common Souldiers, 6. Peices of Ordnance, 20. Carriages, &c. Not taken by, but from your upstart *Lord Byron*. The relations whereof are so full and concordant as well by Letters from the 2 Valiant & faithfull Commanders, *Sir William Brereton* and *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, as also from particular Countrey men that came from the place, striving who should first bring the good newes, that no trick, no fine invention in your next *Mercury* will be able to undermine the certainty, or scruple the beleife of your nearest related friends. Insomuch that though you would have made the world believe that all was yours cock-sure in those parts, by reason of the perfidious English Irish that came over, yet you may take notice how God blasts your Babel hopes, & quashes the in the midst of your jollity. So that I can't blame you for beaoming your hard fortune, nor your friends here for whispering, that tis one of the shrewdest blows you have received since the beginning of your rebellion: for I am partly of their mind, & you shall hear my reason.

The *Scots* being come in so strong, so numerous, and so resolved as they are you heare, you begin to dispaire of your few shattered forces of *Newcastle*, and so conclude, that in all probability in short time, they will be driuen out of the North Counties by the *Scots*. My Lord *Fairfax*, and my Lord of *Manchester*s forces, in so much that though you have designed the West for your Randevouz, where you meane to fortifie, and make it the seate of Rebellion, yet you consider that it would be of mighty concernement to you, if you could possesse your selues of the North-west Counties, which must be done, you conceiue ere the *Scots* come on, or not at all. How neere therefore *Sir William Brereton*s victory touches you, and that of the garrison at *Warr* the weeke before, braue *Colonell Massys* employes, and the enlarging of his quarters by taking

in, and putting a garrison into *Malmesbury*, I need not expresse, we may read much in the dejected faces of your Friends at *London*. In so much that tis probably conceived that *Newcastle*, *Hastings*, *Capell*, *Byron* must after some flourish and shew made of withstanding the *Scots* and our other forces, after their last and most cruell oppression of the Countries, sweeping all away they can lay hands on, they must, I say, retire to the West. For preparation to this, you have framed an association with purpose to engage the Counties, and draw them in to run the same hazards with your selves. And because as neere as you can, you would make all your owne in those parts, which you feare you shall hardly compass, because of the raising of your siege at *Plimouth*, how ever if you cannot get all you would, you will get all you can, and therefore are now drawing to besiege *Lime*, and purpose shortly to lye before *Poole*, (which places notwithstanding their present strength, shall I doubt not have succours sent vnto them as there shall be occasion) so that the people of those Counties may hereby see what a world of misery is approaching them, not only by being overrun by the ioynt forces of the Rebels, by being foorst to raise monies and provision for their maintenance, and compelled to fight in their defence, but to be the seate likewise of War for all the forces in *England*, we being necessitated to follow the Rebels, to what places soever they fly.

Now for prevention of much of this, tis reasonable aduice to the West Countrymen, that as many as safely may, doe in some publick way protest against the association, as a thing foorst vpon them, and to which all men that know them, can testifie that the generality of the people are most auerse: as the necessity of a Presse amongst them doth further witness: And for those who be ouerawed by the Rebels dare not ioyne in the protest, their best way will be to flye into such places as are fortified, and endeavour what they can to recover what the Rebels is now maister of to conuey into safe places whatsoeuer may be aduantageous to the Rebels, & to giue what succour and assistance they can (with safety to themselves) to the garrisons of *Plimouth*, *Poole*, *Lime*, *Malmesbury*, and whatsoeuer Townes shall hereafter free themselves from the Captiuitie of the Rebels: That so their hands being weakened, they may be the easier subdued, the Counties set at liberty, and the peace of the whole Kingdome the sooner recovered. The Rebels purpose to lull them asleepe, I heare, with the hope of Trade, and haue dispeart amongst vs a story of a ship vnladen at *Apsham* neere *Exmouth*, of 570. barrells of Powder, and store of Horsemannes, which found vent at *Exeter*, they say, for Cloth and other Commodities:

modities : a pretious benefit to the Countie. Their staple Commodities that were wont to maintaine the greatest Trade to *London*, to the enriching of the *West* country, and raising of many able Families (and by the wisdom and courage of those Countie may in short time do so againe) are now vented for weapons to oneraue them, & to continue a rebellious and vnnaturall warre amongst them against their Brethren , to the viter vndoing and desolation of their Country , if by some meanes or other not prevented. I haue therefore addressed my selfe to them, because I would willingly make them sensible of their approaching miseries : and for that I know how auailable their Courage and Resolutions will proue towards the ending of the warre, to the lasting and contentfull happinesse both of them and vs. They know as men are resolute and faithfull so God blesses them with successe : Examples they may see in *Sir William Brereton*, *Colloell Massey* and others ; and they haue had experience of the miserable effects of cowardize. Let them be resolute therefore , and God will prosper them, otherwise they may tell themselves what will follow.

The *Scots* all know are now come in, in whose justification so much, & so euincingly hath bene spoken by themselves, that little need to be added by me or any body else : Only thus much I thinke meete to say, That considering their Oppressions vnder which they laboured , were in much the same with ours. The Innovations forst vpon them little different to ours. That the same men were the oppressors of vs both : That we and they haue the same grounds and reasons of taking vp of Armes, That we both haue the same Interests, and must be either Slaves or Freemen together, both together either happily enjoy the Reformed Religion , or forst to suffer vnder Papacy or Prelacy . Calling to minde likewise the Wisdome and Integrity of their carriage, both before, at, and since their former expedition into *England* : How warily they dealt with their Aduersaries, How inoffensiuely towards their Friends, how conscionable and sincerely in respect of themselves we may well hence be assured concerning them, that we shal not only haue the assistance of a Valiant & hardy Nation, the benefit in Councell of a Watchfull and Prudent , but may rest perswaded likewise in confidence of their Integrity, and sight of the strictnesse of their Campe Discipline that we shall receiue no damage from them (excepting what is vnauidable in an Army) their ends manifestly appearing to be, the Generall good and welfare both of themselves and vs.

For further knowledge of the ends, both Kingdomes haue proposed to themselves in this Warre, of Articles touching those who haue continued
faithfull

faithfull to the Cause, and sufferd losses by the Enemy. Touching Neutrals, Touching those who are capable of being received into favour, and upon what conditions. Touching Papists in Armes, Irish Rebels, and Incendiaries who are to look for no mercy, but to be proceeded against as Traytors. For further knowledge in these particulars I refer each man (for in one respect or other it concernes every man) to the Declaration of both Kingdomes. And for satisfaction concerning the present Expedition of the Scots, their Declaration will amply afford it. No man is to content himselfe with common report, much lesse with such information as their enemies shall suggest for their owne ends.

'Tis mistakes and want of true vnderstanding, that hath kept vs so long deuided here at *London*, to the many advantages of our Aduersarie, and prolonging of the war we all wish might have an end. Whether those who have hitherto bene called Malignants, but I haue cause to hope, hereafter will deserue a better name, whether, I say they haue taken the best course to accomplish their wishes, the ending of the Warre. I now desire no others should iudge but themselves. Let them but seriously ponder, whether two populous Nations, so strong, and resolu'd as ours are, in a just cause, God blessing and going along with them so manifestly as he does, can in any probability be subdued, by a few ambitious persons (whose liues are already forfeited to Justice) and such as their craft and force haue drawne to their assistance. What blindness is it then to haue hopes, what madness to speake in the behalfe, or yeeld assistance to such a faction, and become thereby enemies not onely to the Kingdom, but to themselves also. How much better is it, as Sir *Edward Dering* hath already done (esteemed hitherto by themselves a wise man) and many others are watching when safely to do, to forsake the Rebels and joine with their Country, laying hold vpon those gracious proffers of favour and acceptance the States of both Kingdoms offer to such as freeing themselves from mistakes, and forsaking their private Interests, will resume to do service to their Country.



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